

# KANGURA



N°34

**IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO  
KURENGERA RUBANDA  
NYAMWINSHI.**

100 FRW



Inkotanyi zateye zigamiye kuri-  
mbura rubanda nyamwinshi no  
gusubiza ku bucakara abacitse ku  
icumu.



Twe muri CDR ntituzemera  
ko muri Guverinoma hinji-  
zwamo amashyaka akorana  
n'umwanzi.



Muri Guverinoma  
itegerejwe C.D.R.  
yahawemo imyanya  
kuko yagaragaje ko  
ihagarariye rubanda  
nyamwinshi.

Baturage murabe maso kuko hari  
imiryango iri mu Rwanda  
icyohereza abana bayo mu  
nkotanyi!

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## CDR, AMIZERO Y'UMUHUTU.

Abanyarwanda bagera kuri magana abiri baherutse gushyira umukono ku mahame-remezo na sitati by'ishyamba rigamije kurengera inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi rugizwe ahanini n'abahutu ariryo: "IMPUZAMUGAMBI ZIHARA NIRA REPUBULIKA", mu gifaransa ni "COALITION POUR LA DEFENSE DE LA REPUBLIQUE", CDR mu magambo ahinye.

Kuva mu mezi munani ashize itegeko-nshinga ryemeye politiki y'amashyamba menshi, amashyamba cumi n'atatu (13) yose amaze kwemererwa gukora ku mugaragaro. Amwe yamaze gukwirira mu gihugu cyose akoresha za mitingiri n'ibiganiro mbwirwaruhanye asobanura amatwara yayo. Radiyo Rwanda nayo yayageneye umwanya wo kwimenyekanisha. Ahanini rero buri shyamba riba ripiganira kugwiza abayoboke benshi kugira ngo mu matora rizegukane imyanya myinshi mu Nteko ishingira amategeko, bityo aho ariryo ritegeka ryonyine cyangwa ryifashishije irindi byumvikanye.

Nyamara witegereje neza usanga ayo mashyamba yose avuka utuzi neza icyo ashakira uretse kurarikira ubutegetsi. PL na PSR niyo mapariti yonyine afite intego zihariye kandi zizahoraho zo guharanira inyungu z'abatutsi no kubageza ku butegetsi, kugira ngo ubwo bwoko bubone uburyo butikiza imbaga y'abahutu. MRND iracyivuruguta muri politiki y'ubumwe yanariranye kugira ngo ahari ibone uko ikomeza gutsimbarara ku butegetsi buza n'ubwayinyuze mu myanya y'inkotanyi. None se hari irindi banga itekanye ifitaye abanyarwanda? MDR yo icyo ishaka ni ugufata ubutegetsi igenda ishyira imbere aho rubanda rutarashira amakenga ndetse ikagirana ubufatanye bukomeme n'ishyamba PL ry'inkotanyi z'abatutsi bahora bagaba ibitero byo kurimbura inyoko-mpitu. Ayandi mashyamba nayo aracyashakisha ahereye ku by'i Burayi ariko ugasanga nayo yaracengezemo n'abatutsi bayakoreshe icyo bashatse.

Kubera rero inyota y'ubutegetsi amashyamba y'abahutu yose yarahunamye. Birahabaye kubona nta na rimwe rishobora kumvisha abaturage ko umwanzi wa mbere ari inkotanyi n'ibitso byazo hishaka kuvutse igihugu n'abagituye ibyiza rwazaniwe na Revolusiyi yo mu 1959. Usanga yose atinye kuvuga ko iyi ntambara turimo yatewe n'abatutsi bari hanze n'imbere mu gihugu; ahubwo agashakira ibihaze aho bitari akenshi ashingira ku kinyoma kivanze n'uburindirye. Bitye akadungu kumva hari umuhutu umuhutu wisararanga ngo ntatari mu ntambara y'amoko maze agahimbanza izindi nyamwinshi zihafashye. Undi nawe ngo azemera gufata nta na shitani zibonetse zose ariko asatirere ubutegetsi buriho kandi nyamara hari ubundi buryo yakoresheye, n'abaturage bakamukurikira n'umutima mwiza. Ntibyumvikana na bwa kubona umuhutu wo mu mashyamba iri n'iri yungu mu kinyoma by'inkotanyi na bene wazo maze nawe agahita abishyigikira ngo ni uko binenga ubutegetsi gusa; mbega ubuswa! Ubwo ni ubuhamanyi buvanzemo icyakora n'ubumenyi no kudashyira mu gashyamba. Wasobanura ute koko imyifatire iteye isoni y'abantu hamwe na bamwe kandi ngo bakomeye mu mashyamba ndetse bahatanira umwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika n'uwa minisitiri w'intebe, barindagira babeshyanye ubugoryi bwakuzura umutima ngo abashyamba bacyabonye aho inyenzu ziragitiye maze bakahuka mu haturage bakarasa, ngo ingabo z'u Rwanda nizo zateye mune mu Bugesera, ngo abaturundi bo muri Palipehutu bitoreza mu Nyungwe, ngo u Rwanda nirwo wabutegeye ku babagira bababwirirwe i Bujumbura, ngo Habyarimana afite ikoni rya Museveni n'andi manomvu adafite shingiro na rugero ahubwo agamije gutwara umwanzi wa twese umurundi.

Nahubundi gusenya ubutegetsi bwananiwe bwaba ubwa Kayibanda. Habyarimana cyangwa undi muhutu wese uzategeka ni ibyazwe ndetse ni nabyo byiza kugira ngo busimbuzwe uwitabiriye koko

guharanira umutekano n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage. Ariko kwiya mbaza umwanzi kabuhariwe wa rubanda nyamwinshi no kuba igikoresheye cye ku buryo buteye impungenge ni ibyo kwamaganirwa kure. Ibyaribye byose ibibi birarutana, sinzi niba hari umuhutu wakwiririraga ndagaza ko inyenzu-inkotanyi-ntutsi iyo zitsinda aribwo yari kumere-rwa neza kurusha ubu.

Mu by'ukuri nta shyamba mu yitwa ngo yaremewe ryashoboye kugaragaza ko rirengerwa inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi. Byabaye rero ngombwa gushyiraho umutwe wa politiki uharanira ubusugire bw'iyi Repubulika yari igeze aharindimuka kuko abatutsi bari baramaze kuyiguturira imizi basigaye gusa gukoma imbarutso maze ikagenda nka nyombero yo n'ibiyitirirwa byose. Uwo mutwe utarariye guteguka cyangwa gasenya amashyamba y'abahutu ni "CDR" yaje kuzura no gushimangira igikorwa cy'ingenzi cywa PARMEHUTU cyo kurenganura mbere na mbere umuhutu no kumugarurira ishema yari yaramubwe n'abutegetsi b'indangare. Mu myaka mirongo itatu ishize abatutsi nta kindi bakoze uretse kurundanya ibitwaro byo gufata ubutegetsi mu Rwanda no gutsemba uwitwaga mwene Gahutu. Ibigwi byabo muri bya bihe by'ababwiririraga mu maraso. Ibyo byagaragajwe n'igitero cyabo cyo mu Kwakira 1990 n'ubuhamanyi akaba ari ibicika. Intambara y'amoko rero nibwo igitangira kandi mu gihe abatutsi bo bayiteguye igihe kirekire, bakigarurira amashyamba bacyereye ku bihugu bidukikije sinzi niba ak'abahutu katagiye gushoboka bidukomeza kuryana aho gushyira hamwe no kumenya umwanzi nyamwinshi uwariye ntitumwibeshyeho. None se uretse CDR ni irihe shyamba rindi muhutu koko ryarengeraga umuhutu?

Dore nka MDR yaragarutse imutima y'abanyarwanda irirahutse ndetse abantu benshi bahita bayiyoboka kuko bibwiraga ko ari ya PARMEHUTU yabakuye ku ngoyi ya gihanga-ntutsi igarutse. Ariko uko iminsi igenda ibita ni na-



ko abarwanashyaka bayibazaho byinshi. Aho guharanira inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi rugizwe aha-nini n'abahutu, abishyize ku isonga y'iryo shyaka usanga bararikiye ubutegetsi bwonyine. Maze noneho byaje kuba umwaku MDR ifashe icyemezo cyo kwifatanya na PL i-shyaka ry'abatutsi b'inyenzi-nkotanyi. Aha ho rwose amazi yarenze inkombe; ni ryari koko MDR-PAR-MEHUTU yigeze ishumikana na Lunari bikagirana ubumwe mu bitekerezo no mu bikorwa? Maze se Kanyarengwe wayibimburiye mu gushaka guhirika ubutegetsi bw'abahutu yifashishije abatutsi we byamugejeje kuki? Hanyuma se nawe tumuyoboke n'inkotanyi ze ngo ni uko tudashyigikiye ubu butegetsi? Biragaragara rero ko MDR yataye umurongo w'abarwanashyaka bo hambere ku buryo ubu yabaye igikoresho cy'abatutsi.

CDR yakwishimira rwose ko MDR yagaruka mu nzira ibonye ibereye rubanda. bitaba ibyo igasaba buri muhutu wayiyobotse kuyipakurura akaza muri CDR. CDR yakwishimira kwifatanya n'ishyaka rirwanya umwanzu utwugariye kandi udateze kuva ku izima. Ntabwo icyakora ishobora na busa gu-shyigikira ibikorwa by'imyifatire iyariyoye naho yaba ikomoka hose bigamije kuroha gahutu mu muryango ya rubamba no kumusubiza ku ngoyi yasezerewe muri 1959.

Ku ruhande rwa MRND naho ntakigenda, yamaze imyaka cumi n'itandatu ikorera abatutsi gusa. None yiswe ngo irivuguruye ikomeze guhanyanyaza ku ngirwa politiki y'ubumwe bw'abahutu n'abatutsi izi ko igosorera mu rucaca. Aho abambari bayo bigeze basoma amagambo yavugiye i Nyanza n'abatutsi ku itariki ya 17/5/1958 cyangwa na ya nkotanyi Kagame murumuna wa Rwigema. Aho abatutsi bose bagusha ku ntero imwe: "Ntabwo umuhutu n'umututsi ari abavandimwe, nta n'ubwo bashobora kuba inshuti, icyo bahuriyeho ni igihugu gusa. None kubona umuhutu ariwe ukomeza gukoba ngo arashaka ubumwe n'abatamushaka nta bupfayongo bukenye ubwo. Nko ku ngoma ya MRND kuvuye umututsi n'ibibi yakoreye umuhutu

byari sakirirego. Amashuri, akazi n'amafaranga byari byareguriwe umututsi maze umuhutu agasigara abeshyeshywa amajyambere atazi uko asa. Nk'ubu abatutsi babeshya Habyarimana n'ibisonga bye ngo bashyigikiye MRND, nyamara bakumva ko inkotanyi zambutse Kagitumba zigafata Gabiro zimaze kwivugana abasirikare benshi b'u Rwanda bagakoma yombi; naho bakumva ko abasirikare baci bashushubikanye izo yenzi bazisubiza mu ndiri yazo muri Uganda bakajya mu kiriyo. Igihe rero kirageze cyo kwivugurura nyako kwa MRND ikiyemeza noneho kuba mbere na mbere ishyaka rya rubanda nyamwinshi. Itabishobora abarwanashyaka bayo bakayoboka CDR kuko ariyo shyaka rifite uhushake bwo kurengeza umuhutu muri ibi bihe no mu minsi yose itaha.

CDR ikiyuka ibigambo byabaye byinshi nk'uko mu Rwanda tubimenyereye. Bamwe ngo ni agashami k'ishyaka iri n'iri, abandirako ngo ni irya kanaka na kanaka, abakurikiyeho ngo ni irya ba "extrémistes" n'ibindi bibimbano bitereye aho. Mperutse kuganira n'umurwanashyaka wa MDR ashaka kunyumvisha ko umuhutu atagomba gutinye umututsi kugeza aho ashyiraho ishyaka ryo kumurengeza. Buri wese afite nyine uko yumva ibintu ku giti cyo ariko uwakurikiye neza

3.1 - *Bikurikira urup. rwa 8*

nda w'igihugu cyose, umutekano wiyongere. Bityo ingingo zibabaza M.D.R. zigabanyuke!

Bwana TWAGIRAYEZU rero ntutangazwe n'uko nkuhishuriye ibyo watekerezeza nkabyongeraho n'ibindi byinshi wivugiye kimwe n'abandi mutekereza kimwe. Nagirango ubutaha muzirinde kuvuye ibintu mu buryo butaribwo. Ibi mbivugiye ko ndi umu G.D. hano ku Kacyiru, umwe mu bamwe bahaguritse tariki ya 2 Ukwakira 1990 intambara imaze umunsi umwe gusa itangiye, nambariye urugamba nerekeza icy'u Mutara gutera inkunga bagenzi bacu b'abasirikari bari bagezeyo rugikubita.

Ngira ngo uwampagarara imbere agaterura ngo : «Aba G.D. nta rwana

amateka y'u Rwanda yari akwiriye kuzirikana imyifatire y'umututsi imbere y'umuhutu kuva ayo moko yombi yaturana; nta busabane na bukeya bwigeze buranga imibanyire yabo. Nk'ubu se uretse abantu bacuranye mu bitekerezo no mu bwenge ninde muhutu koko wakwiharanga ngo ntatinye abantu bamumajije umwaka n'igice ku nkeke y'amasasu, batesheje umutwe ubutegetsi, baburabuje abaturage, bagasakaza mu gihugu cyose iterabwoba kandi bikaba bigikomeza. Wabura ute se kuryamira amajanja ubona umwanzu agikomeye ku mugambi we wo kumarira ku isasu n'umuheto icyitwa umuhutu cyose ko n'abo biha kunganira inkotanyi aribo zaheraho zitunga ku musoto ziramutse zitsinze kandi ko abahutu bakomeje kuba ba sinbikangwa byashoboka. Baca umugani ngo inyamaswa idakenga yishwe n'umutego kandi ngo agapfa kaburiwe ni impongo ndetse ngo ubumara bw'inshira ntibugombera ubwinshi. None se umuntu w'umugabo atinye umubu, impiri cyangwa isega ari uko bimurusha ubwenge n'imbaraga?

**NONE MUNYARWANDA MUNYARWANDAKAZI YOBOKA CDR KUKO ARIYO MIZERO Y'UMUHUTU.**

**NDEKEZI Bonaparte GISUMA.**

ryabo ngo ahubwo ni ibyitso by'ubugizi bwa nabi atavanguye, kudukiranura byaba ingora bahizi. Umuntu umwe ntiyari akwiye gutukisha bese. Ahubwo yari akwiye kuvugwa ukwe, agatukwa ukwe, agahanwa ukwe!

**Cpl NGAMIJE P.C.**

### **ITANGAZO.**

Impuzamugambi ziharanira Repubulika (CDR) zifite aderesi nshya: zibarizwa kuri B.P. 660 Kigali-RWANDA. Ishyaka ryanyu nimurigezeho ibitekerezo cyangwa murisabe ibisobanuro.

Harakabaho ubufatanye bw'imibaga nyamwinshi.



## HAKWIYE REVOLISIYO NO MU BITEKEREZO.

Mu 1959 niho rubanda nyamwinshi rwivumbuye rukipakurura ingoyi ya gihake-ntutsi yari yararuzonze. icyo gihe hashyirweho inzego za politiki nshya. Uwari uzi ubwenge muri icyo gihe no mu minsi yakurikiye yiboneye ubwe ko ingoma ya cyami yari yarapinagaje abahutu yasimbuwe na Repubulika ishingiye kuri Demokarasi. Gupfumbatishwa ishyaka kugirango ube umukuru w'igihugu kugeza igihe uzatanga ntibongeye kurangwa muri uru Rwanda. Amatora atuma abaturage bategekwa cyangwa bahagararirwa n'abo bihitanyemo yasimbuye imitegekere y'igitugu y'ubwoko bumwe bw'umwami. Umuhutu yakize ikiboko n'uburetwa byo kwa shebuja w'umututsi wari waramucuje utwe akamugira umucakara mu gihugu yamusanze. Maze se uretse abanzi ba rubanda ninde koko wakwihandagaza ngo nta Revolisiyo yigeze ibaho; kereka nyine PL ishyaka ry'inkotanyi-ntutsi. N'ubwo ibintu bimwe na bimwe bitagenze nk'uko byifuzwaga ibyo aribyo byose ibyangombwa byagezweho.

Revolisiyo muri politiki no mu mibereho myiza y'abaturage yarabaye koko kandi yagenze neza muri rusange. Ingoma y'inyoko-ntutsi yari imaze ibinyejana hafi bitanu yica umuhutu igakiza umututsi yashoboye rero gusimbuzwa ubutegetsi bw'abaturage buva ku baturage kandi bukorera abaturage kubera ko rubanda nyamwinshi rwari rumaze guhumuka rukamenya akarungane barupfukiranyemo, rukibaruka abana b'intwari bashoboye guhangara ku mugaragaro ubutegetsi ruvumwaga bw'abega n'abanyiginya. Amaraso yaramenutse kubera abiru n'abo bari bahuje ubwoko bari bagitsimbaraye ku bya kera bahigaga abarwanashyaka b'ikubitiro ngo basogotwe. Birumvikana rero ko n'abaturage bafashe inkoni, agahoro n'akabiririra maze bakirwanaho kugeza igihe nabo bimitse abo biashakaye, ingiyi Revolisiyo!

Nyamara ariko ingoma-ntutsi yaranduwe igipande gito gusa. Ibisigisigi byayo ni iryaguye; ibyo bigaraganyirwa mu myifatire no mu bite-

kerezo by'abanyarwanda yacengejemo umuco unuka wo kubeshya, guhakwa, kudashyira mu gaciro, gucira amagambo, kwangana, gutikura, kurimanganya, kwironda n'andi marorerwa atagira ingano. Biraruhije rero kugira ngo ibintu byabaye umurage imyaka amagana n'amagana bihinduke mu myaka mirongo itatu gusa narindi abo bikomokaho bagikomeza kubyubakira urufatiro rw'umutamenwa. Aho binabereye insobe ni uko atari iki-ntu gifatika ngo umuntu aho yaki-buza kongera kubyutse umutwe. N'aho wakoreshe kakacinikovu cyangwa izindi ntware zigezweho ntiwashobora guhindura mu kanya gato imitekerereze n'imigirire yafashe nk'isima mu bwoko no mu maraso y'umunyarwanda.

Nko mu giturage gihake yashiditsemu ingiga z'amashyari, amatiku n'inzangano bidindiza amajyambere bikaryamisha abaturanyi. Abitwa ngo ni abasirimo nabo bize, bategeka cyangwa bakize usanga ntacyo barusha rubanda rundi. Umukosi aracyamara umunsi muzima anegura abandi akabasopanyiriza muri byose, akababeshyera, bwacya na nyuma yaho agakomeza. Aho yakwerekanye icyo ashoboye ahubwo agashimishe na kugaya ibyo mugenzi we yagezeho. Aho gushakira umuti ibibazo biriho ugasanga arabyigurutsa abigereka ku bandi, ikinyoma n'ibisobanuro bidafashe rugeretse. Kera guhakwa byari byarahawe intebe ya kinyarwanda none byahawe ifoteyi ishire zahabu; ubwenge, ubushobozi ndetse n'umurava biza nyuma y'ikimenyane n'andi macakubiri.

Muri ibi biba by'amashyaka menshi ho byabaye umwaku; niho bigaragarira ko imyifatire n'ibitekerezo by'umunyarwanda cyane cyane umuhutu bitaracengerwamo n'umwuka wa Revolisiyo. Ubundi kudahuza ibitekerezo na mugenzi wawe ku kibazo iki n'iki ni ibisanzwe kuko Imana itabaremye kimwe ariko usanga abafite ibitekerezo bigufi bashakira kubyuririraho ngo bakongeze itabaza ry'amatiku na munyangire. Umuntu arabura icyo anenga ishyaka batavugaga ru-

mwe agahimbahimba ibinyoma agatura aho. Kuri bamwe 1 = 2 si 2 kubera ko bivuzwe na kanaka badahuje ishyaka ariko bakaba bashyigikira ko 1 + 1 ari 4 mu gihe icyo gisubizo gitanzwe n'uwo bari-huje; ubwo se ukuri nyakuri kuzaturuka he? Mu ntware zikomeye z'inkotanyi ari nawo muco wa gitutsi udashobora gusibangana mu gihe n'abahutu bawugize uwabo harimo nyine kubeshya no gusopanyisha amashyaka cyane cyane ayitwa ngo ni ay'abahutu niba agihari.

Muri iryo sibaniro ry'amashyaka birakabije ndetse biteye ishavu kubona umuhutu yemera kuba igikoreshe cy'abatutsi peee, akajya yunga mu ntero y'abo banzi be kuva isi yaremwe kuzageza ku mpera-ruka yayo. Azihanukira koko yemaze nawe nta kimwari ko abasirikare b'u Rwanda aribo bateye mu kigo cy'ababikira nk'uko inkotanyi zabibeshye amahanga? Ubwo nk'uwiyita umuhutu wiha "ubutwari" -nanze kuvuga ubucucu-bwo gusakaza ikinyoma giteye isoni nk'icyo wamenya umucira uruhe rubanza? Undi na we agaturuka ku Rusumo rwa Kibungo akagera i Nyabitimbo ho mu Karengera abwejagura ngo Barahinyura cyangwa undi wese basohoye inyandiko iyi n'iyi ari uko ngo bahawe amafaranga ndetse akavugaga n'umubare, kandi ubwo wenda nawe ari umwanditsi (...)! Hanyuma ishyaka ryavuka rigamije kurengera inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi umututsi akajya mu gutwi k'umuhutu go narivugeho ibibi bibaho byose by'ibinyoma gusa. Undi nawe ari ndiyo munyanyu wanjye; ubwo bakaritwerera abatazi amavu n'amavuko yaryo, bakaribimbahimbira abategutsi batabaho kandi ubwo abayobozi baryo nyabo barerekaniye ku karubanda. Mbese umuhutu agakomeza kirindagirira mu mutego umwami amutega. Umuntu akihanukira ngo Nayinzira bamuhaye amafaranga n'imodoka kugira ngo ishyaka rye ribe agashami k'irindi, ngo PECO nayo yaraguzwe ngo ibe icyitso cya ririya. Akabyemeza rwose nta shiti nk'aho ayo masezerano yose yaba yarabaye ahubereye ubwe.



Izo ngeso rwose mbi zakunze kuboneka ku ba Lunari bagendaga bakwiza mu baturage ibihaha kugira ngo rubanda rubagarukire. Muri ibi bihe ho ibinyamakuru byiyongereye inyenzi z'abatutsi zabonye ubwugamo n'urubuga rwo kuyobya abatutsi ubwenge. Kandi koko abahutu b'iki gihe ntibakimenya gushishoza ngo bashobore gutandukanyira urumamfu n'ingano nk'aho mu gihe cya Revolisiyo. Aho gushyigikira inyandiko zibarengera usanga basamarira ibinyamakuru by'inkotanyi nka Kanguka, Rwanda Rushya, le Tribun du Peuple, Kibiri nka n'ibindi bihatanira ko umuhutu yasubira ku bucarara cyangwa ko yasibangana kuri iyi si. Hari aho koko mwabona umuntu yicukurira u-

rwobo yitwa ngo afite umutima utekereza, amaso yo kureba n'amatwi yo kumva! Kudashyigikira ubutegetsi buriho ni uburenganzira bwa buri wese ariko ntibyangombye gutesha abanyarwanda cyane cyane abahutu umuyoboro twaharurirwe na Revolisiyo yo mu 1959. Kwisunze umwanzi ukigamiye kurimbura imbaga y'abahutu no kwiha kumutwara mu kwaha no gukwirakwiza ibinyoma bya ngo ni uko wenda agufasha gusenya ubutegetsi utishimiye ni ukurohama bivanze n'ubugambanyi bwari bukwiyeho guhanirwa bikomeye. Abahutu bamwe baracyiyibagiza ko umututsi atarangiye gukuraho Repubulika ya kabiri ubwayo gusa; n'iya galatu cyangwa se iya kane n'izizazikuriki-

ra zose azazirwanya mu gihe cyose umuhutu azaba akizifitemo ijamba. Imitegekere mibi iriho igomba rwose kwamaganwa ndetse byaba ngombwa hagasheirwaho abandi bayobozi babishoboye kurusha abo dufite ubu ariko bikaba muri demokarasi isesuye kandi bigashimangirwa no kwima amatwi tutazuyaza abahigira gukuraho burundi ingoma-mputu.

NDEKEZI Bonaparte  
Gisuma



## CDR IZIYE IGIHE.

CDR cyangwa "COALITION POUR LA DEFENSE DE LA REPUBLIQUE" mu gifaransa, ni ishyamba riharanira ubusugire bwa Repubulika; rikaba rigamiye mbere na mbere kurengera inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi rugizwe ahanini n'abahutu bageze kuri 90% by'abanyarwanda bose.

Nta mwaka rero wari washira itegeko-nshinga rishya ryemeye politiki y'amashyamba menshi. Ubwo inkwakuzi zahise zishyamba amashyamba ukagira ngo hari aho zari zarayahunitse kuko ibyariyeho byose ishyamba rigomba gutegurwa bihagije, amategeko n'amahame-remezo arigenga akigwa neza, hakabaho nyine n'igihe cyo gushyamba abayoboke. Sinzi niba hari inyungu idasanzwe yo gutura aho ishyamba -kuko abarwanashyamba 30 badakunze kubura- maze ahasigaye beneyo bakitaramira ntirumvikanishwe mu mpande zose z'igihugu.

Muri izo nkwakuzi rero umuhutu nyamuhutu yashimishijwe byimazeyo no kumva ko MDR -imwibutsa PARMEHUTU yamukuye ku ngoyi y'abagome n'abanyabinyoma b'abatutsi- yongeye kugaruka muri uru Rwanda. Ubwo se yari kuyoboka koko irihe shyamba rindi? icyo gihe ntacyo na CDR yari kuba iye kumara kuko MDR-PARMEHUTU nayo yabuze ishyamba imbere icyarengera umuhutu kuva ikivu-

ka; kandi yahananiye ku buryo bugaragara ubusugire bwa Repubulika mu gihe inyenzi n'ibiyitso byazo hashakaga kugarura ingoma ya cyami-ntutsi.

Irindi shyamba abahutu benshi bari bitabiriye ni MRND kuko ryavugaga ko ryivuguruye. No muri iyi ntambara ryari ryagerageje kuvumbura umwanzi nyawe no kumwamagana nubwo hanzwe ho imishyikirano n'amahanga n'abadutera yakozwe mu giswaga kivanze ubwoba no kwivugurura. MRND yari isigaye noneho yigana nayo kuvuganira rubanda nyamwinshi rw'abahutu nko mu bihe bya Kayibanda, Gitera na Bicamumpaka.

Aha naho ntibyangaragara ko CDR ari ngombwa kuko abantu bibwiraga ko MRND iri mu nsira yo gucana ukubiri na politiki yari igiye kuroha abahutu ikuzimu ho kwa Nyamutezi.

Amashamba ya FPR y'inkotanyi nka PL na PSR yo yagombaga gutuma havuka ishyamba rifite ubushake n'ubushobozi byo gusenya irifite imigambi ya shitani yo kumara ku isasu na none imbaga y'abahutu iranga cyane cyane iyo PL. Nabwo ariko rubanda rwakomeje kugira icyizere mu mashyamba yitirirwa abahutu yari amaze kuvuka ku buryo rwabonaga yari kwifashya yonyine izo nyenzi-nkotanyi.

N'utundi dushyamba nka PDC, PSD, RTD, PDI, PECO, ntitwagombaga gukanga umuhutu cyane

cyane ko tutari dushyigikiye ku mugaragaraho abo bicanyi kandi ari nta n'ingufu mu giturage twari twifitiye.

Ayo mashyamba yose rero yakomeje kwivuruguta muri politiki ari nako agenda yerekana uko ateye koko; kuko burya atari byiza guhita unenga ikintu utaramenya neza icyo gihabse. Nka kwa gusubiza umuhutu ishemu ryari ryarakeneye rubanda nyamwinshi rwari ruteze kuri MDR kwaje kubyara ishyamba. Abitwaga ba kanaka na kanaka na bamwe mu bandi bambari ba MDR yo mu 1991 bayobeye iryo shyamba, bararizambya bararizambagura kugeza naho ribaye igikoresheho cya za nyenzi-nkotanyi ziganje muri PL na muri PSR. Maze byose bigahurirwa no kutagira politiki n'imigambi yo gutegeka ihamye (idéologie) uretse kurwanira ubutegetsi. None se umuhutu wari wihanganye bihagije yibwirako ko MDR izisubiraho yari gukomeza koko guhishira ubwo bugambanyi bushyigikiyirwa na ba nyoni nyinshi babifitemo inyungu ku giti cyabo bwite gusa? Ni nayo mpamvu CDR yahise ibira ngombwa kugira ngo abagifite umutima wa gahutu babone nabo aho barengerera inyungu n'agaciro by'ubwoko bwabo; kuko umututsi we adapfa gusamara nk'abiyita abahutu bo hanzwe aha, ashishikazwa n'inyungu z'abo basangiye ubwoko nta bandi. Ariko muzumva ryari? Kuba rero wari



umurwanashyaka w'imena wa MDR ntibyakubaza na gato kuyoboka noneho CDR kuko ari ryo shyaka rya rubanda nyamwinshi, kereka niba nyine ugitsimbaraye ku migirire y'amayeri ya ba gitimuji-sho bakomeza kugutsindagiramo yo kuroha umuhutu mu mikaka y'ibimanuka.

Ku ruhande rwa MRND naho umuhutu yahejeje amaso mu kirere ashaka kureba ibihinduka muri iryo shyaka byashimangira umutekano we n'imibereho ye myiza maze arahaba. N'ubwo twitwa ngo turi mu cyaho, cyangwa mu nzibacyaho, ibyaribye byose ni MRND igitegeka; n'amakosa akomeza gukorwa mu butegetsi, muri politiki, mu bukungu no mu mibereho y'abaturage niyo igomba kuyabazwa kandi aho kugabanuka ahubwo arikuba inshuro iryaguye. Ibyo gusumbakaza abatutsi bakomeje gukorana n'inkotanyi byabaye intego ya guverinoma iriho. Umwanzu MRND ivuga ko yavumbuye ntacyo

yamutwaye uretse kumusubiza ku ibere yre. Imishyikirano yerekanye n'iyi ntambara yakomeje kurangwa no guhuzagurika kandi ubundi ukuri kutagomba guhishirwa. Byaranagaragaye ko kwishyirira imbere mu gushaka kuvuganira abahutu ari amaco ya politiki ngo rubanda nyamwinshi rurushaho kuyiyoboka maze yaramuka isubiranye ubutegetsi intero ikaba ya yindi isanzwe: UBUMWE butazapfa bushobotse kubera ko abatutsi batabushaka, oyé! AMAHORO kandi turi mu ntambara y'urudaca tuzahora dukururirwa n'abo batutsi, rambal AMAJYAMBERE y'abatutsi gusa n'ibirura bikungwahazwa no kunyereza imitungo no kurya ruswa, sugira sagamba tera imbere turayashyigikiyecece!!!! Nawe rero muhutu wari ugikomeye kuri MRND cyangwa wari utarafata umurongo menya ko noneho CDR yakubonekeye maze uyiyoboke utajijinganya kuko ariyo uzaboneramo agakiza.

Birumvikana ko ibyamaganwa kuri MDR na MRND bireba n'andi mashyaka ashobora nayo kugwa mu mutego w'umwanzu ariwe nkotanyi n'abamushyigikiye hanze n'imbere mu gihugu. Nkaba rero nagira inama abarwanashyaka bayo bagishishoza gutera umugongo imigambi n'ibyemero bibangamiye rubanda nyamwinshi ndetse ahubwo bakitabira gushyigikira CDR. icyakora munyumve neza, ntabwo CDR irwanya andi mashyaka cyane cyane ay'abahutu ahubwo byayishimisha birenze urugero yumvise ko ayo mashyaka yikubise agashyamba maze akagaruka mu nzira ibereye umuhutu nta kujandajanda. icyo gihe haba ubufatanye butaziguye n'ayo mashyaka yose yitabiriye kurengera inyungu za rubanda nyamwinshi no gushimangira ubusugire bwa Repubulika.

NDEKEZI Bonaparte  
GISUMA

## HAKWIYE KAMARAPAKA (REFERENDUM) KU ISHYAKA RYATANGA MINISITIRI W'INTEBE

Muri demokarasi impaka zose zikizwa n'amatora adafititse. Ni nayo mpamvu amakimbirane ari hagati y'amashyaka ku kibazo cya Minisitiri w'intebe yagombye guhoshwa n'abaturage ubwabo kuko abiyita ko babahagarariye mu mashyaka anyuranye byabananiye. Ubundi urebye ububasha bukaze Minisitiri wa mbere ahabwa n'itegeko nshinga nubwo yaba ari uwo mu nzibacyaho nta shyaka ryabura kurwanira uwo mwanya. Kugira rero ngo hatagira ugira ipfunwe ngo ishyaka rye baryimye Minisitiri w'intebe hakwiye gukoreshwa ku buryo bwihutirwa amatora rusange kuri icyo kibazo.

Iyo Kamarapaka ariko yategurwa kandi igakurikiranwa n'imiryango cyangwa ibigo bidafite aho bibogamiye muri politiki; ni nabyo byabarura amajwi bikanayatanga za mu butabera. Ariko nabwo ntibibuze ishyaka ryakumva ko ryabangamiwe kujuririra inkiko

ziteganijwe. Buri munyarwanda wemerewe gutora yababwaga igipapuro kiriho amazina y'amashyaka yose akurikiranye hakurikijwe igihe yaboneye uburenganzira bwo gukora ku mugaragaro maze agashyirira akamenyetse iruhande rw'ishyaka ashaka ko ryavamo Minisitiri wa mbere. Iyo Kamarapaka yaba n'ikizamini ku mashyaka amwe n'amwe yiha kuvuga ngo arusha ayandi abayoboke. N'imyanya y'ubumunsiyirirwa yindi yatangwa barebye ku bwiganze bw'amajwi bwa buri shyaka. Nta shyaka ryakwemererwa gutwerera irindi amajwi ryiboneye uretse ko ridashatse kujya muri ayo matora ntawaribihatiye.

Leta icyakora yahatangira mihyoni akangari ariko ntacyo byababwirwaye cyane kuko n'ubundi itakazabwo idashobora kubera muri uru ruhira. Yakwiyambaza n'ibihugu by'amahanga bikayitera inkunga muri urwo rwego.

Nah'ubundi ejo cyangwa none mu shobora kumva Perezida wa Repubulika yashyizeho Minisitiri w'intebe ukomoka mu ishyaka yishakiye maze induru zikarushaho kuba induru. Nk'ubu kuva aho minisitiri y'intebe ihawe Nsanziimana bidaturutse ku cyifuzo cy'abaturage usanga igihugu kigenda «pole pole», umurava w'abakozi n'igitsure cy'abategutsi byaradohotse.

Mu ishyamba ryabaye irya mbere muri icyo referendum niho Perezida wa Repubulika agomba gutoranyamo byanze bikunze Minisitiri w'intebe. Ariko rero kubera ibibazo by'umutekano n'ibya dosiye ya buri muntu ntabwo umukuru w'igihugu yabwirizwa kwemera umukandida ubonetse wese naho yaba ashigikiye byimazeyo n'iryo shyamba rye ryarushije ayandi amajwi.

Iyo Kamarapaka yagombye kuneza impande zose kuko abasha-



ka amatora ya hutihuti y'inzezo zose za politiki baba bahawe urubuga rwo kugera nibura kuri zimwe mu ntego zabo. Naho abagitinda mu makorosi bashakisha abayoboze no kwimenyekanisha mu gihugu nabo baba bahatomboreye kuko iyo guverinoma y'insibacyuho -ariko ituritse ku cyifuzo cya rubanda rwose

nk'uko ruba rwabigaragaje muri iryo tora-ishobora kumara amezi n'amezi mbere y'uko hakoresheya ya matora yo mu nzego zinyuranye cyane cyane urw'abadebite. Gusa iyo uvuze referendum abatutsi bari kanga kuko bazi ibyo yabakoreye muri nzeri 1961; bikaba rero byatumamashyaka yabo n'andi yose ba-

cegeyemo bakayagira igikoreshe cyabo atitabira iryo tora cyangwa bagakoreshe amayere basanganywe kugira ngo yegukane amajwi iryaguye bityo Minisitiri w'intebe abe umututsi cyangwa icyitso cy'ubwo bwoko bwanga urunuka abahutu.

Ndekezi Bonaparte  
GISUMA.

## NSHIRWARIMENETSE ZA PALIPEHUTU, NAMWE BAHUTU MWESE MUKWIYE IRI ZINA MURAGABA.

Baciye umugani ngo «wutambana na mukeba ntakubita urugoho». Bahutu rero murabe maso kuko abashatse kuva kera gusambura umugambwe wacu n'ubu ntaho baraja. Ngira ngo mu-azi ko kuva umugambwe wacu ubona izuba wamye ugwa inzura n'abansi bawo bipfuzwa ko utoshinga imizi. Abo bansi si abandi rero, ni Abatutsi banka bakankiriza zina Muhutu wese batipfuzwa ko yobaho canke naho akabaho ari umuja wabo. Abo bansi bacu b'Ababatutsi bahavuye bibaruka abandi bansi mudategerezwa gufata mnenegwe. Abo rero ni Abahutu twocamo ibice bibiri: hari Abahutu b'abatinyarugamba bahisemwo kwigumira mu buja bw'Abatutsi aho gukenyera zikaguma ngo bateshe Abatutsi imigambi yabo yo kugumira Abahutu mu buja. Hari n'Abahutu bahumishijwe amaso bakanacurikwa umutima n'amaronko Abatutsi babahendeshye kugira ngo bahonye bene wabo b'Abahutu abandi birabira gusa.

Abatutsi bobo musanzwe muzi ko batigeze bahengeshanya kudutega imitego to kutwica kandi n'ubu bakiriho. Muri icyo mitego hari uweze Abatutsi baduteze mu guca kuri ba Bahutu bene wacu kandi tutokwihenda ngo boba baracitse inkokora kuko aribo babo bishingisha turya tudumbidumbi tw'utugambwe Abatutsi binyegeje inyuma. Kuva utwo tudumbidumbi tushinze, nta kintu ba nyenetwo bigeze baserura canke bakorera Abahutu cerekana ko turiho. Vyatumye abanyagihugu batatwizera kuko ata kindi kituraje ishingira atari uguto-

ba. Nico gituma nta banyagihugu wosanga barijukiye utwo tudumbidumbi kiretse ba nyene kudushinga. Mwamenya ahubwo ko umugambi wa mbere na mbere w'utwo tudumbidumbi ari uwo gusambura umugambwe PALIPEHUTU w'Abahutu bakanura kandi barinduka. Abari muri PALIPEHUTU barakanura kuko bo babona ko Abahutu barenganywa muri vyose, bararinda kuko bashinze umugambwe wubahuka ugashinga umwotso mu gihute aho kugikira. Ariko na none Abahutu biyemeje kumena icyo gihute ntibari bayobewe ko nyeneco ariwe Mututsi azorya amenyo abazomufata igihe bazoba bakimwotse.

Abahutu-baja rero ntaco bategereje kugira ngo badusamburire umugambwe ariko bikabata k'uwa-mazi, none babonye ko PALIPEHUTU yabahotoranye badasiba kuwuhiga, babona kandi ko batagishoboye kuwankisha abanyagihugu nk'uko babigerageje mu gihe caheze, baba biga iyindi mitego bibwira ko yoye tutazoyica ikanda. Ibi bambewe! Nibateshwe bate kuko ivyababanyije ejo hahaze ntibazobishobora uno muni canke ejo hazoza.

Muti mbega icyo mitego migesera basigaye batege PALIPEHUTU n'abayihurikiyemwo ni iyihe? Noneho icyo bateguye ni akamaramaza kuko hambere abarwanya umugambwe wacu bari ababona none ubu kubera ko basigaye batinye abanyagihugu bayitavye ari benshi baciye biga kuyiheregeta bayinyegejemwo nk'ivunderi mu giti.

Uko vyagenze rero ng'uko: mu minsi ihze hafashwe ikete ridafise epfo na ruguru Abahutu-baja bandikiye abahurikiye muri PALIPEHUTU n'Abahutu bakundi. ubwo ko bwabo bagomba kubajuragiza. Iryo kete abo Bahutu-baja barifyirigise kw'igenekerezo rya 11/01/1992, barahaze baryitirira Umukuru w'umugambwe wacu kuko baravye bagasanga ariwe wenyene asigaye afise ijamba haba mu gihugu hagati canke mu makungu. Icyo bihendeyeko, baribagiye yuko ijamba yama ashikiriza Abarundi ryamye ari iry'ubugabo kandi ko yiyemeje kutwungurura, na kare umugabo yihindukiza mu kirago ntiyihindukiza mw'ijamba. Abo Bahutu-baja rero icyo babeshye muri iryo kete begetse ku Mukuru w'umugambwe PALIPEHUTU nta shingiro bifise, kanatsinda babigize bataraguye, mbere ni bahatorere icirwa bateshwe bate kuko turi maso kandi bamenye ko n'imba itayoberwa shebuja mbe ndetse abantu.

Abo Bahutu ba mpemuke ndamuke bakoresheje ubusuma buteye isoni mu kubeshera Umukuru wa PALIPEHUTU, bigana ikimungu c'umugambwe n'igikumu c'umukuru wawo. Ako karwi kibwira rero ko kubuye ubwenge bushasha bwo kudusamburira umugambwe, yamara barihenze kuko umukuru w'umugambwe wacu turamuzi neza, tuzi impanuro yama aduha uko ziza zimeze, tuzi imashini akoresheya uko yandika n'ibindi ntiriwe ndondagura.



Nshirwarimenetse rero, ngira ngo kubashoboye kwibonera iyo kete, mwabonye ko akarwi kayanditse kagerageje uko gashoboye kwiyo-beka mu mvugo nziza kashatse ku-gira. Yamara kubera ko umugambi wako wari uwo gusambura, katege-rezwa vyanse bikunze gushiramwo amajambo atagira mvura. Ayo ma-jambo yari ayo kuvuna inkokora inshirwarimenetse za PALIPEHU-TU, kuziteranya n'indongozi zazo hamwe no kwambika ibara Umuku-ru w'umugambwe bitiriye ivyo bi-nyoma.

Ikindi mwoba mwarabonye ko bihenzeke mu kwitirira Umukuru w'umugambwe iriya nyandiko ni uko bujijemwo amajambo y'iki-nyarwanda kandi tuzi ko atigeze aba mu Rwanda. Ng'ubu uburorero : amahirwe ntiyatunogeye — Guhangana na UPRONA — Amikoro Abahutu bafise — Mu mahanga — Abazungu barasuzugura — Mu minsi ishize — Ku-tavuga rumwe — Gutatanye i-nguvu — Nta ntambara itagira intumbi n'ibindi... n'ibindi... Bica vyibonekeza ko muri ako karwi harimwo ababa canke babaye mu Rwanda.

Nshirwarimenetse za PALI-PEHUTU namwe Bahutu mwese mukigendera iryo zina, tuboneyeho akaryo ko gusubira kubakebura ko mutegerezwa na ntaryo kwisunga impanuro z'indongozi zanyu muri PALIPEHUTU zikabereka u-mwonga uhuma n'udahuma, zikabereka imigambi mibi Abatutsi bariko barategurira Abahutu. Mu-tegerezwa kumenya yuko muri iyo migambi, ahenshi bifashisha Aba-butu nkamwe, ariko bataye ibanga kubera ubwoba canke amaronko bakura ku Batutsi. Ehe namwe ni-murabe abashikiranganji b'Abahu-tu BUYOYA yashize muri Leta ntutsi, nimurabe Abahutu BUYOYA yashize mu murwi wa-shinzwe kwiga ikibazo c'ubumwe bw'Abarundi, murabe Abahutu BUYOYA yashize mu murwi wo gu-tegura ibwirizwa nshingiro ry'Ubu-rundi, murabe n'abandi Bahutu BUYOYA aha ibiti mu zindi nzego z'intwari, muzosanga ari Abahutu

BUYOYA yacishijemwo ijisho. Ni ba Bahutu BUYOYA azi ko ari ba «Niry», batigeze na rimwe bereka-na, ari mu mvugo ari no mu ngiro ko babajwe n'akarenganyo, agacinyi-zo, gukumirwa, kwicwa no kwa-ngarwa Abahutu bagirirwa kuva kera gushika n'uno munsi. Abo Ba-hutu bene wacu rero mubahurire mu Batutsi kuko ntibizotuma tuba-tinya ngo ni uko igitigiri cabo conge-rejwe kikava kuri 14% kigashika kuri 15% kandi ntibizoca bitunani-ra kurwanya imigambi yabo hamwe tuyitayeko.

Ikindi kandi Abo Bahutu-baja na ba shebuja batobahendesha ni utudumbidumbi ngo ni imigambwe bamaze canke bimirije gushinga. Muradutere ivyatsi hamwe na UPRONA kuko ari udukoresho twayo twiyorobeka.

Umugambwe wacu kandi uho-ra na ntaryo uturemesha, utwigisha kurinda ibitugora bivuye ku mwa-nsi wacu twiyemeje kurwanya uko

bizogenda kose. Dutegerezwa rero kugumiza ku muzirikanyi wa muga-ni twasigiwe n'umuhisi wacu n'ubu-tucubaha, GAHUTU Remi, yavuze ngo «Akari mu menyo y'imbwa ba-gakuzamwo ubuhiri».

Ni uko rero ntihagire uwubaju-ragiza namwe ngo muje narwo, naho yoca mu buryo ubwo aribwo bwose kuko murazi ko umwansi adasinzi-riye. Mwame mumenya ko umu-gambi ukiri wa wundi, mufise ama-zinda nimwegere ababarongoye mu mugambwe wacu kandi bazwi aho kujana nyabaturu ngo muhave mwihenda canke babahende. Ntimwibagire gukorera mw'ibanga kuko arico kirwanisho gikuru kiri-nda umwansi. Ni twame twisunga ca civugo c'ubutwari c'Umukuru wacu ngo «HAKUBA IMBWA WOBA IMVA».

PALIPEHUTU, tsinda I

Bigiriwe i BUJUMBURA,  
kuwa 15 Ruhuhuma 1992.

## COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE

*Le Président Buyoya du Burun-di multiplie le nombre de scénarios vi-sant à faire accepter de force par la po-pulation, les ruses machiavéliques ex-primées dans une constitution unique sur la planète devant consacrer un multipartisme de façade et des élec-tions sur des listes bloquées.*

*En réalité le pouvoir est pris de panique devant d'une part la campa-gne musclée des partis d'opposition appelant la population à voter contre le projet de constitution lors du réfé-rendum du 9 mars et d'autre part les nombreuses pressions internationales ayant récemment engagé le Président Burundais à une série d'actions poli-tiques devant nécessairement le con-trarier dans les options politiques qui sont véritablement les siennes. Les ac-tions politiques lui demandées sont entre autres :*

- a) La poursuite des militaires qui ne sont rendus coupables des massa-cres des civils Hutu depuis le 23 novembre 1991.
- b) La légalisation du PALIPEHU-TU.

- c) La libération des prisonniers poli-tiques du PALIPEHUTU.
- d) L'ouverture du dialogue politique avec l'opposition et en particulier avec le PALIPEHUTU.

*Ici à Bujumbura, la description officielle des faits est tellement peu crédible que, la direction du PALI-PEHUTU a pris la décision de met-tre à découvert cette nouvelle manipu-lation de l'opinion burundaise et in-ternationale.*

*En effet :*

- a) Les militaires ne pouvaient pas quitter Muzinda et arriver aux Camps de Musaga et à la présiden-ce sans que les dispositions de les contrecarrer ne soient prises.
- b) Ce n'est au petit matin qu'ils de-vaient entamer les préparatifs de leur putsch en recherchant des ap-puis à Musaga et Muha.
- c) D'après une dépêche de l'AFP du 4 mars des officiels burundais chercheraient à établir une collu-sion entre la soi-disante tentative



de coup-d'état de l'ex-Président Bagaza et le PALIPEHUTU, deux inconciliables sur l'échiquier politique burundais, mais par contre un rapprochement inquiétant d'autant plus qu'il simule exactement le début des massacres de Novembre-Décembre 1991.

Le PALIPEHUTU affirme et proclame très haut que le scénario est une machination dont les objectifs sont :

- a) Créer un prétexte aux autorités pour recueillir des fleurs pour les projets du régime en particulier le référendum du 9 mars 1992.

- b) Salir le PALIPEHUTU et hypothéquer le dialogue avec lui.  
c) Trouver une protection aux officiels civils, officiers et sous-officiers Tutsi responsables des massacres de Novembre-Décembre derniers.  
d) Forger un prétexte pour intimider même l'opposition tutsi opposée au contenu du projet de constitution.  
e) Tirer une pseudo-sonnette d'alarme envers l'opinion internationale pour tailler à Buyoya une place privilégiée.

Le PALIPEHUTU, n'en déplaît aux spécialistes de la machination, ne

peut pas s'engager dans des opérations de violence sans issue soit-disant pour saboter un référendum dont les résultats forgés seront un jour contestés et calpestés par le Peuple Souterrain.

Le PALIPEHUTU réitère son appel à la Communauté Internationale pour garder l'œil vigilant sur le Burundi.

Bujumbura le 6 Mars 1992

Le Président du Comité  
Exécutif National  
NTACONARIGIZE V.

## ABAKOZI B'ABAHUTU BAKORERA ABATUTSI BARARENGANYE.

Muri iki gihe mu ngo z'abatutsi (extrémistes) bakorerwa byinshi: ibiganiro, amanama n'ibindi, byose bigamije kwandagaza abahutu babacenga no kurwanya ubutegetsi buriho bo bita Ingoma y'Abahutu.

Abakozi bo mu rugo (bakunze kwita ababoyi n'abayaya) b'abahutu bakorera abatutsi bahura n'ibibazo byinshi muri iki gihe cyane cyane ko abatutsi banga ko bagira icyo hamenya ku byo baba baganira (bo bemeza ko babibwira bene wabo b'abahutu).

Abatutsi benshi muri iki gihe, bagezwaho iteka imigambi y'inkotanyi iyo ariyo yose ndetse bamwe bagashingwa n'imirimo imwe n'imwe bagomba kurangiza cyane cyane imirimo yo guteranya abahutu b'aho bita Nduga na Rukiga, ubundi bagateranya abarwanashyaka b'amashyaka yiganjemo abahutu.

Kugira ngo imigambi yabo igerweho ntawe bakuka ko yabavamo, biraye mu bayaya n'ababoyi b'abahutu maze si ukubananiza karahava, bakaboneraho kubirukana. Kuri abo bakozi ngo nyirabura agira atya agahisha ikintu hanyuma akihanukira ngo umukozi wagitaye azagikorera amezi atatu cyangwa ake adahembwa. Iyo rero ushatse kumwumvisha ko urengana, nibwo akwirukana atanaguhembye kabone n'ibirararane. Erega ubwo aba abonye urwitwazo ku baturanyi baba basanzwe bakuziho umuravali.

N'iyi rero umukozi abaguyeho bari muri ayo mateshwa yabo, baba babonye uburyo bwo kumutesha

umutwe ngo nta kinyabupfura cy'abahutu, ubwo bakamwirukana bamaze no kumukata utwo yakoreye twose.

Mu migambi yabo, abatutsi - cyane cyane abagore - harimo kwirukana abakozi bese bo mu rugo b'abahutu kandi batabahembye kugira ngo bazinukwe. Iyo ubabajije impamvu badafite abakozi, bakwerurira ko aho gukoresha abahutu bo kubona amagambo, iyo mirimo bazayikorera. Ariko na none wabababwira umubare w'abatutsi bakeneye ububoyi muri uyu mujyi wa Kigali, ugasanga bizaba wa mugani ngo "icyo imbwa yanse ushyira aho ireba". Ese koko icyo mirimo bazayikorera? Ko nduzi nabo batoroshye mu kwinemfagura no gusuzugura imirimo y'amabokoli! Aho iwabo nti hazamera nko mu misarane uretse ko n'ubundi basanzwe bakunda kwihereza.

Bana b'Abahutu namwe nimu - menye ko batabashaka, akarimi kabababashyira ngo babuze abakozi kugira ngo mubakorere ukwezi cyangwa abiri hanyuma babirukane batabahembye, ari uko bamaze gushaka impamvu muri za zindi navuze haruguru, mukwiye kukirinda. Ubu buryo ni bwo bushya budukanye bwo guhaka abahutu.

Ku ruhande rw'abatutsi n'abagabo muri rusange, nabasaba kwisuzuma mumaze kunyuzwa amaso mu migambi inkotanyi zafashe zise "stratégie" mu ntera ya gatatu y'iyi ntambara. Mbibutse ko uretse gukoresha imvururu mu mpande

zose, biyemeje gukoresha abagore b'abatutsikazi bashyingiranwe n'abahutu n'indaya zabo muri rusange. Ntawe uyobewe ko Kigali yezemo indaya z'abatutsikazi dore ko ubwo bwoko bwabo bukunda uwo mwuga, kuko uborohera mu kugera ku migambi yabo yo kwigarurira abahutu no gufata imyanya myiza na bene wabo (mwibuke amategako 10 bashyizeho bakimara guhunga u Rwanda).

Mu ntera ya gatatu y'iyi ntambara, bageze n'aho gukoresha amarozi, mwibuke ko bazakoresha abo bagore.

Ububaha nzabagezaho ubugambanyi mu ngo z'abahutu bashakanye n'abatutsikazi. "Inshuti y'impyi niwe irya mbere" kandi "agapfa kaburiwe ni impongo".

HABYARIMANA Ildophonse  
B.P. 2271 KIGALI

### ETO GATUMBA.

Abantu benshi batwandikiye ku bijyana n'ibibazo ishuri ry'i Gatumba ryigisha imyuga rifite. Twarabikurikiranye dusanga imizi y'ibyo bibazo ari amafaranga yanyerejwe. Ayo mafaranga yatanze kandi abayakiriye leta irabazi. Mu gihe itaragira ubwende bwo guhaguruka ngo ibabaze ayo mafaranga maze akoresheye mu kuvugurura no kugura ibikoreshe bya ngombwa abanyeshuri bakeneye, ETO Gatumba izaruhira ku bashuri rya leta ry'imyuga risebye kurusha ayandi.

Kangura.



## ESE BARAYANDEMA Jean-Pascal NI IMPUNZI KOKO?

NDABAMENYE Mathias  
Bwiza-Bujumbura  
Rép. du Burundi.

Bujumbura le 26 janv. 1992.

Mushingantahe, Muyobozi mukuru w'ikinyamakuru Kangura B.P. 1312 Kigali.

Mushingantahe,

Mfashe ikaramu yanje, nkwandikira ngusaba ngo ungereze iyi nyandiko yanje k'umusomyi w'ikinyamakuru cawe ca Kangura yitwa BARAYANDEMA Jean-Pascal uba ku Kibuye, nizigiye ko, uzongereze iyi nyandiko kuruwo Mushingantahe, urakome.

Mushingantahe BARAYANDEMA Jean-Pascal, nkurikije inyandiko yawe, yasohotse muri Kangura n°30 yo mu kwezi kwa Nzeri 1992, k'urupapuro rwa 15 rw'iyi Kangura. Mushingantahe, mbanje kuramutsa ndagize gake, hano iwacu mu Burundi dufise imvugo ngo: Har'umurundi w'umutima, umenga niwewe... Ariko ntuzwe... I Uri umurundi koko? Niba ur'umurundi ntiwokwigora ng'umbarire umwironzoro wawe? Ese uri impunzi ko? Cyangwa se wagiye iyo gukora...? Niba naho warahunze, wahung'iki? Nkurikije inyandiko yawe ushobora kuba ur'umwarimu, niwaba ur'umwarimu kuki wagiye kwigisha Abanyarwanda hano iwacu dukikeneye abarimu? Murundi mwene wacu, umenga uwoguh'amahitamo y'amafaranga y'inyongera n'u Burundi bwakuvyaye, aho ntiwohitamo amafaranga...? Mwene wacu, ayo mafaranga y'inyongera, abo banyeshuri bimwe amahera y'amashuri yabo n'izo mpunzi zir'imuhoro, bamereye nabi nikoko, nkurikije imvugo yawe ariko ntibageze aho umuntu yicirwa umwana wiwe arega agatako akarishwa inyama mbisi z'uwo mwana wiwe.

Nizigiye ko, kandi ziriya mpunzi, abo banyeshuri n'abo barimu bagenzi hawe utariho bogutumwe ng'ubavuganire kuri Kangura ngo

nayo ibavuganire kuri Leta na HCR, kuko bo bagomba kuba bazi ko, uwatumwe bangara ariwe watumye bagorwa ayo bagowe ubu. Ikindi naco, sizi neza nib'uzi ko, umwanzu yatumye mumuhunga (niba uri impunzi koko) atishimiye kubona mukiriho, kubwe no kuba mwaramucitse vyaramubabaje cane rwose; kuba naho mwageriyo mukabona akazi, amashuri no kwumva ko imiryango mpuzamahanga yabakiriye neza ntivyamuhimbaye, akaba ariyo mpamvu uwo mwanzu yagize ukw'ashoboye kugira ngo mufatwe nabi hanyuma naho n'ubona ko, umereye nabi ugaruke, kandi nkawe nakugir'inama yo kugaruka n'u Burundi, kuko u Burundi bukeneye nkawe.

Iyo nkuru y'uko umuvyeyi yarishijw'umwana wiwe, uzoyitohoze neza yabereye mu vyobo vy'aho bimba izahabu i Butahana, n'i Butara naho abasoda ba BUYOYA basanze umuvyeyi amaze kw'ibaruka umwana bagaca hamwica na n'uwo yibarutse, ako kari akanyusemwo ngo: nkubarire ko, egome mu mereye nabi iyo aho muri ariko kandi sinzi niba mumerewe nabi cane nkawe n'abo muri Zaïre na Tanzania; erega ngo: urunyo rw'uware rukurya rukurunda-runda; nizigiye kw'abo banyarwanda (leta y'u Rwanda) babagira nabi babagirira bate... I bibuka ko, muri abahutu nkabo ko umwanzu wabangaye nabo ariwe abamereye nabi ubu.

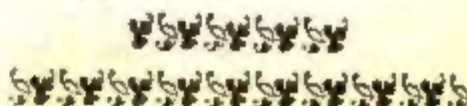
Mushingantahe, BARAYANDEMA Jean Pascal, umuntu yohora aya kuruzi akakurobera ifi akakuzanira iyo kurya, no kukwigisha wewe ukaja kuja kwirobera ubwawe. wumva ivyo kugirira akamaro kanini ar'akawe? Njewe kubwanje numva uwonyigisha nkaja nirobera ariywo vyoba bifisiye akamaro kanini kuruta yabo yaja aroba akangaburira ndaho, mbega war'uzi ko, n'inyoni igaburira icana caco arikera ikagera aho yigisha icyo cana caco naco kigira kija kwihahira, mu icamake rero, iy'aba isi yose cane cane ibihugu bihana imbibi n'iki gihugu cacyu Burundi, vyari bidufashije nka NGEZE uwo kugira

ra tubone demokarasi hanyuma natwe tukagira demokarasi y'ukuri nyakwo, ngirango abarundi bese bahunze boca bagaruka bakaza muhabibabarutse uretse wewe gusa icyo wishakira ni, kuzamuka intera no kwogezwa amafaranga yawe n'izo ntera zawe ukibereye igere iwewe.

Kubwanje, ndashima cane gwose, uwo Mushingantahe, umuyobozi mukuru wa Kangura kuko arondera ko mu Burundi habaho intwari rusangi nyayo koko maze amahoro agataha mu Burundi n'impunzi zose z'abarundi aho ziri kw'isi yose zigahunguka, ngirango ibibazo vyawe vyose vyaba bibonye inyishi itomoye. Ikindi naco, uwo Mushingantahe wa Kangura ndabona afise ukuri kwo kuvuganira abahutu b'i Burundi; kuko mu Burundi nibho hari abanyagihugu benshi cane, egome n'ubwo mwagize imana mugashobora guhunga sinzi niba mugeze kuri 5% z'abanyagihugu niba rero mugeze kuri 5% z'abanyagihugu kandi n'ubwo mwoba muziranye ntimushobora kuba mukabakaba 1/2 c'abahutu bari mu gihugu, ngira ngo rero mukwandikira iriya kete yawe wandikiye uriya muyobozi mukuru wa Kangura, sinzi niba wabanye gusoma hariya inyuma ku gifuniko icyo kinyamakuru, muni y'iryo zina Kangura handitswe ngo: IJWI RIGAMIJE GUKANGURA NO KURENGERA RUBANDA NYAMWINSHI. Sinzi neza ikinyarwanda, ariko jewe uko ndavyumva, numva avuga ko, agambiriye guserura ivyiyumviro vy'abanyagihugu nyamwinshi boha bariko barengana, bacurwa bufuni na buhoro nka hano iwacu mu Burundi nk'uko tumaze ubu.

Ndagije ndagushimira icyifuzo cawe, n'ubwo kitanezereye benshi, nyamara ng'iyabira iba yanse kuzimira: nasaba abarundi baraho muba kugira ngo bazogusure bagukure ibuzimu uj'ibuntu.

NDABAMENYE Mathias.









# KUVUGISHA UKURI BYADINDIJWE N'IKI CYANGWA NANDE?



**U**warengerwa neza na disikuru yasomwe na BUCYANA Maritim, Perezida wa C.D.R. yasanga kutavugisha ukuri aribyo byari kurimbura ABAHUTU. Ishyamba «IMPUZAMUGAMBI ZIHARANIRA REPUBULIKA», C.D.R. mu magambo y'igifaransa ahinnye ryavutse bitewe n'uko muri iki gihe nta shyamba na rimwe, nta rwego urwarirwo rwose, nta muntu n'umwe byashoboye kurengera ku mugaragaro inyungu z'abenshi mu batuye igihugu. Nta n'umwe rwose wemeye ku mugaragaro ko demokarasi, ishingiyeye buri gihe n'ahantu hose ku hame ntatifu ry'abagize igice kinini cy'abaturage. Ku rundi ruhanda nta shyamba ryemeye nta shiti ko Repubulika igeze mu mazi abira kubera ko yugarijwe n'abashyamba kugarura ingoma ya gihake n'ubwami byazereze na Kamarampaka yo kuwa 25 Nzeri 1961.

Mu gihe icyo demokarasi ishaka gukenywe mu mahame yayo n'abakotabira kongera gufata ubutegetsi ngo bakoreshe abaturage ibyo byashakaye ku ngufu n'ubwicanyi batutse hanze kandi babifashijwemo b'akomeye n'ibyo byababwiriyemo, rubanda nyamwinshi rwagombaga narwo gufata ibyemeye bikwiye byo kurengera muri ibi bihe no mu bitaha. Byagaragaye ko amashyamba ariho ubu ushyizemo n'ayiyita ko ari abaturage nyamwinshi yirirwa akocorana nk'amasake agaragaye n'abayobozi bayo bagamije inyungu zabo bwite gusa, aho gushimangira ubumwe bwa rubanda nyamwinshi, ba Gashakabuhake bararikuye guhura, bashakira kuri mbura

C.D.R. yavutse mu gihe cy'itambara yari imaze kugaragaza ibara ryayo ryo gutikiza rubanda. Niba andi mashyamba yaba yarabayeho kubera kwitabira politiki y'amashyamba menshi yari imaze kwemerwa n'ubutegetsi burho ndetse na mbere y'itambara y'ikwakira 1990, C.D.R. yo yakomotse kuri icyo ntambara y'amoko yatewe n'abashyamba kwica urubozo rubanda nyamwinshi. C.D.R. kandi yabaye ngombwa kubera ubushobozi n'ubushake biko by'abanyamashyamba atagaragaza byimazeyo ko ari aya rubanda ahubwo agashyigikira ibikorwa by'abandi ha demokarasi na repubulika.

C.D.R. iziye igihe kugira ngo ibuze igihugu kongera gusubira ku nkeke y'ingoma ya gihake yari yaramunze abo dukomokaho, ba baba, ba sogokuru ndetse na bamwe muri twe bakiyitiriyemo inkovu zitazabangana. Birumvikana ariko ko ingabo zacu, zizahora zifatanyije na C.D.R. zashoboye kwivugana inyirashya mu nyenzi — n'ubwami maza uturukotse tukadushushubakanyiriza mu ndiri zatwo. Abashyamba bacu bashoboye gukumira umwami n'ubutwari budasanzwe no kwerekana uruhare rukomeye leta ya Uganda yabigizemo ibi abaturage insorensore ze kubarwanirira. Inyuma, amashyamba, ibikorwa byose bakomeye n'aho bitoreza. C.D.R. iboneyeho umwanya wo gushimira no gushimira byimazeyo izo ngabo zacu z'imena no kwibuka abaguye ku rugamba baharanira kurengera demokarasi na repubulika.

Niba rero mu rwego rwa gisirikari rubanda nyamwinshi rwagombye kwishimira ubutwari n'ubwitange bitagira amakemwa no gukunda igihugu by'abakobwa n'abahungu barwo, ku ruhanda rwa Politiki ho nta kigenda. Mbega guceceka! Mbega abagambanyi! Mbega ibyitso bagaragaza cyangwa byishyamba mu bandi!

C.D.R. yitangiyeye kugarura igihugu mu murongo ukomeye, Ntabwo yakoreshe imvururu, ntiziyambaza intwari nk'uko amashyamba amwe n'amwe abakora ahubwo zaharanira guceceka ya politiki ishingiye ku mahama yemewe ya demokarasi.

Inyuma yacyo yonyine ni demokarasi nyayo kandi yazuye itagira imibogamizi n'imizira. Politiki yo kudashyira mu gaciro n'ikinyoma yagarangiyeye. Politiki yo kumanga n'ubwicanyi no kwirengagiza ukuri nta ntebe igifite muri uru Rwanda. Uko kuri mu kuba? Ku ruhanda rwa C.D.R. uko kuri guteye gutya: ba bashyamba buhake bakagambirye guhura barashyamba kugarura ingoma ya cyami na gihake ku ngufu, ubwicanyi, n'imvururu kugira ngo tutatwe ibyiza bya revolusiyi ya rubanda yo muri 1959. Ibyo byamaze n'ababikomokaho, abashyamba amashyamba n'abanywanyi babwo baba mu Rwanda, mu Burundi, muri Zaire, muri Uganda, muri Tanzania n'ahandi bahuriye ku mugambiyo gutembagaza ubutegetsi bwose bwakomotse kuri Revolusiyi ya rubanda yo muri 1959 bakoreshe ingufu, imvururu n'ubwicanyi. Ni aho ukuri kw'itambara ya politiki n'amasasu abayobozi n'abayoboke ba FPR, UPR, PL, P.S.R. n'ahandi bene waho babaturutse bituruka muri MRND na MDR. N'ahandi barwana gushingiyeye. Bitwaje ko baharanira demokarasi, abaturage badashyamba ko aho moko abaho cyangwa agira ijamba mu Rwanda barahaye ko bazakora ibishobokotse byose mu ishyamba baba barimo ryose kugira ngo bagarure ingoma ya gututse. Bibwira ko inkunga ya Perezida MUSEVENI n'ingabo ze n'ubufatanye bw'abaturutse buseho mu karere dutuyemo n'abaho ahandi, bizageraho bigatandakirira rubanda nyamwinshi rwamaze gucibwamo ibice n'abandi barutegesha ibibazo by'uturere no kurya ibyubusa.



# UMWARIMU YASENYESHEJE ISHURI RYA LETA KUGIRA NGO ABONE AMABATI YO GUSAKAZA INZU YA MWENE WABO W'ICYITSO.

Abatutsi bashyigikiye inkotanyi zidatara bakora uko bashoboye kose kugira ngo bongere ibibazo by'Abanyarwanda, bityo ibibazo mbubana insobe inkotanyi zizaze guhura abahutu, ariko zibeshya abahutu ko zije gutabara.

Niyo mpamvu Umututsi u-shyigikiye inkotanyi wese iyo abonye igikorwa cyagira icyo giho mbyaho u Rwanda atazuyaza mu kugushyira mu bikorwa. Kandi abatutsi umujyi wa Kigali barabyibonye muri ya myigaragambyo yabaye ku itariki ya 08/01/1992 no ku ya 15/01/1992 kuko igihe abandi berekunaga akababaro batewe na Ibiyanyirama wanze gushyiraho Guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyamba menshi, ahubwo akishyiraho Guverinoma ihuriweho na MRND idakurikiza amategeko, na PDC abatutsi bo bihagararira kumena ibirahuri bya za busi, gutobora imipine y'amamodoka no kwangiza ibintu bifitanye rubanda nyamwinshi akamaro. Iyo umututsi yabonaga umuntu usenya yaramusekeraga, akanamwoshya ngo nakomeze aze aye byinshi.

Iyumvire nawe ukuntu KIBERINKA n° 6 ikinyamakuru cy'abatutsi cyogezaga abatutsi bangizaga bisi zitarwara abanyeshuri n'abakozi bagize ku kazi. Ngo umututsi yangizaga bisi noneho umusirikari umubonye amwirukaho, uwo mututsi ngo yahungiyemo mu kiliziya no mu ntebe ya penetensiya ngo ba. Uwo mupadiri ngo aho guhanga iyo akazi y'ibibi ayibuza kwangiza umutungo w'abaturage, we yamubwiye ngo niba yishe bisi imwe ntacyo yakoze ngo nagende yangize izindi nyinshi noneho uwo musore apepera Padiri wari umaze kumubeshya ngo nagende yangize byinshi. Maze ngo uwo musore yisubirira mu myigaragambyo. Ese koko nk'icyo inkotanyi y'umupadiri trabona izakomeza kubeshya abaturage kugeza ryari? Keretse niba intebe ya penetensiya itameze nk'iy'Abanyarwanda naho ubundi imana nayo yagombye kumvisha uriya

mupadiri ko intebe y'ikinyoma ntabwo uyicaraho kabiri!

Si mu muji gusa, kuko no mu giturage abatutsi, ngo n'ubwo leta idahomba, iyo babonye akanya bayisubiza ku isuka. Isomere nawe iyi nkuru y'uyu mututsi wo muri Komini Rwerere (Gisenyi) ukuntu yatinyutse gusenya amashuri abana bose b'u Rwanda bagombaga kwigiramo.

Ku gasozi kitwa Rwamigega, hari ishuri ryari ryaranyutse kubera gufatwa nabi. Ubutegetsi bwa Komini bufatanyije na Kiliziya Gatolika bwiyezeza gusanura iryo shuri kuko ryari rifitanye rubanda nyamwinshi akamaro. Noneho uriya mututsi we, ntivyashimishwa na kirya gikorwa nibwo agiye imama n'umuturage w'aho hafi ngo nyirya amabati bari bamaze gusakaza iryo shuri ngo azamuhisha. Bwakeye ku itariki ya 15/12/1992 ishuri barasenyeye.

IPJ wo muri icyo Komini uvugwaho byinshi muri iki gihe, hashize iminsi ibiri aya gushyiraho bagize ba nabi arababura. Ariko uriya mututsi yakoresheje uburimanganya n'amakuru basanganye afungisha abasore bahuri: Casero Petero na Ntazigiraye F. icyatumye abafungashye ngo ni uko badacira inkotanyi akari urutaga n'ibyatso byazo. Ndetse ngo bakaba bari barafashye imbere mu kuyoboka MDR ngo bahashye imyenzi uretse ko Twagiramungu Faustin ukorana na PL yabahemukiye. Uwo mututsi kandi ngo yari afite undi mugambi wo guteranya abayoboze ba MDR na MRND. Afungisha bariya bagabo we yemeza ko ari bo bibye amabati ndetse asaba na IPJ kugaruka gukora irindi perereza.

IPJ ageze mu baturage asanga bahakanirira bariya bagabo noneho ageze kwa mwarimu amamubwira ari: "ushobora kwibariza n'abanyeshuri kuko ari intabera". Noneho IPJ abajije umunyeshuri wa mbere uwibye amabati y'ishuri umwana avuye amazima y'abasore

mwarimu wabo yafungishije. IPJ akomeje kumukurikirana, umwana ari mwarimu yatwigishije ko muzagira uwo ubaza ariko azagusubiza. IPJ abajije abana rimwe bese bamwemerera ko ariko mwarimu yabigishije maze uwo munyabinyoma abura aho akwirwa. Kubera igutugu cy'ubutegetsi bariya basore hafunzwe ibyumweru bibiri byose kandi bazira ubusa. Yewe burya koko abatutsi baracyadutegeka n'ubwo ari nta Kalinda bagifite.

Ku itariki ya 24/01/1992, abaturage bafashe ariya mabati abayibye bayambutsa kujya gusakaza inzuru y'icyitso cy'inkotanyi zo ku Munigi ho muri Zaire. Nyamara bariya basatanywe igihanga kubera gutanga ruswa ntacyo ubutegetsi bwigeze bubatwara. Ahubwo bwibutse kugira andi mabati yo gusimbura ariya yagiye gusakaza inzuru y'ibyatso by'inyenzi muri Zaire.

Nyamara ubutegetsi bwa Komini butagaga ariya mafanga bwiyezagira ko aya muri yayandi yana (100) abaturage batanga ku ngufu. Kuko mu Rwanda hose Komini Rwerere niyo yonyine igitegeka abaturage gusora 500 Frw. Kubera ko ririya 100 riranga rigeze n'aho kujya gufasha ibyatso byo muri Zaire; KANGURA ibonyeho umwanya wo kwibutsa abaturage ko umusoro wemewe n'itegeko nshinga ari 400 Frw. Ntibazagire reho uwongera gusora 500 Frw kuko ariya y'ikirenga adakoresheye mu bifitanye rubanda nyamwinshi akamaro.

RUBERA Papias

## Abagize ubwanditsi bwa KANGURA

- NGEZE Hassan
- NYABYENDA Issa
- NDEKEZI Bonaparte
- MIRASANO Célestin
- RUBERA Papias
- SIMBIZI Stany



CDR rero ije kwimura umigambi mibi y'abo bagome kuko ihame ryayo ari ubumwe n'ubufatanye bya rubanda nyamwinshi. Murumuna namwe bayoboke ba CDR n'abandi murikeneyeho ibisobanuro mpamvu CDR yatangiye guharabikwa n'abandi b'ibo rubanda cyane cyane abibumbiye mu mashyamba FPR, UPR, PL, PSR n'ahandi. Bahatanira kumvisha amahanga atazi ukuri ko mu Rwanda ko CDR ari ishyamba riva ngura kandi rishingiye ku moko kandi riteza imvururu. Maze se ni nde uvangura cyangwa uronda amokof? Ese ni ushaka kurengera nyungu z'abagize igice kinini cy'abaturage, akaba yaranzweho buri gihe no gushaka no gushimangira ubumwe n'ubushabane by'abanyagihugu bose cyangwa se ni wundi utava ku izima mu gushaka kugira abo baturage ingaruzwamuheto, akaba yamaze ibinyejana n'ibinyejana akandamiza rubanda nyamwinshi maze akanga kwemera ko rwipakuruye ingoyi ya gihake ashakira kugarura kuva muwa 1963? Ntabwo rwose ari ibanga ko inyenzu zo muri 1960 zari abatutsi kandi ko n'inkotanyi z'ubu ari abatutsi. Ntabwo uyobowe ko ingirwamashyamba FPR, PL, PSR, yamamaza politiki ya gatutsi kandi akayoborwa mu by'ukuri n'abatutsi. Abahutu bako bako bako barayihushemo ni abakora buja na bucancuro bishakira nyungu zabo cyangwa bafite irari ribarenze. Uburyo imiryango n'amashyamba y'abo bantu akoresheye ngo agere ku butegetsi burazwi. Ni za kalachnikovu, bombe, katiyusha, imyigaragambyo isenya, guteza za mine, ubushumushu bw'abantu n'ubwicanyi n'andi mayeri yose yo guteza intambara mu baturage.

CDR izarwanya ubwo bugizi bwa nabi, izarengera rubanda nyamwinshi kandi izaharanira gushimangira ibyiza bya revolisiyo yo muri 1959. Tuzahanganisha ibyo bikorwa by'ubwicanyi n'imvururu ubumwe bw'abahutu biyemeje kurengera inyungu zabo.

Tuzashimangira demokarasi yuzuye

Ubwu bugizi bwa nabi no guse-nya tuzabisimbura amatwara. Kalachnikovu tuzayisimbura urupapuro

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Abatutsi banze kugirana ubumwe n'abo bahasanze n'ubwo Abatutsi bo babushakaga. Ahubwo Abatutsi burirye kuri icyo cyifuzo cya kivandimwe maze biganzura ku bahutu harabapinagaza biratinda. Muri 1959 nyuma y'ibinyejana byinshi by'ingoyi ya gihake y'abatutsi, rubanda nyamwinshi rwari bohoze maze rutana demokarasi na Repubulika. Kuva icyo gihe abatutsi bakora uko bashoboye kose ngo basubirane ubutegetsi; no mu bihe bibanziriza ubwigenge abatutsi bahakanye batsemba ko nta buva-

ndimwe bashakira hagati y'abo n'abahutu. Bahise bahuza ibikorwa n'amagambo maze bica ku mugaragaro abarwanashyamba b'ibanze b'abahutu nka KAJANGWE, SINDIBONA, KAMUZINZI, KAYUKU n'abandi. Abarokotse nibho bakomeje inzira yo kugeza rubanda kuri repubulika no ku butegetsi bishingiye kuri demokarasi. Murizo ntware z'imena twavuye nka Gregori KAYIBANDA, BICAMUPAKA Baturazari, GITERA Yozefu, MUYANGAJU Aloyizi, MBONYUMUTWA Dominiko.

N'ubwo abatutsi bari bamaze gutsindwa ntabwo abahutu bigeze bagambirira ibyo kwihimura, ahubwo ndetse bongeye gutegere abatutsi bakunda igihugu amaboko y'ubufatanye bwa kivandimwe nk'uko tubisanga mu mahame remezo ya Parti PARMEHUTU. Ariko na none abatutsi nibabikojye ahuho bafite batorongera ari benshi n'urubwano rwabo igihe bari bamaze gutsindwa mu matora ya Komini muri Nyakanga 1960 n'igihashingwaga Repubulika kuwa 28 Mutarama 1961 igashimangirwa na Kamurampaka yo kuwa 25 Nzeri 1961. Muri ubwo buhungiro bwabo nibho bafataye icyemezo cyo kongera gufata ubutegetsi ku ngufu. Hanyuma ku bw'amahirwe baba n'abatamburwa burundu muwa 1967 kubera buri gihe ubumwe bwa rubanda nyamwinshi. Prezida Gregori KAYIBANDA yongeye kubasaba incuro nyinshi kugaruka mu gihugu kugira ngo nabo bagirane uruhare mu majyambere y'igihugu bafatanyije n'abandi banyarwanda bose. Nabwo tuzi uko byagenze.

Repubulika ya kabiri nayo yatanzwe icyo cyifuzo ndetse yo irabababwiriza isumbakaza abatutsi muri byose kugira ngo noneho wenda bemere gufatanywe n'abandi bya kivandimwe. Tuzi na none ko aribyo byadukururiye ahubwo iyi ntambara y'Ukwakira 1990 n'ubugambanyi butihishiriyeye. CDR nayo irifuzako komeje UBUFATANYE bw'abahutu n'abatutsi bitari iby'ubuhandimwe batakira ahubwo ari ubufatanye bushingiyeye kukubahana no kubana mu mahoro.



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Bayoboke ba CDR, mbere yo kurangiza nashakaga kugira icyo mvuga muri make ku kubazo bitatu by'ingutu bihangayikishije muri iki gihe abanyapolitiki bo mu Rwanda. Ni intambara, imikoresherewe y'inama y'igihugu bita RUKOKOMA no gushyiraho Leta y'inzibacyuho ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi.

Ku byerekeye intambara muri CDR turahamya ko ari MUSEVENI, Prezida wa Uganda wayidukurirye ku maherere afatanyije n'abiyise INKOTANYI. Twiyambaje dukomeje ingufu zose zigifite umutima w'amahoro n'ubutabera kudufasha kubonera ku buryo bwihutirwa umuti w'izo mpagarara zikomeza kuzonga abanyarwanda.

C.D.R. yizera ko icyakora intambara yazarangira vuba kandi burundu ari uko impamvu zayiteye zibonewe umwanzuro ushimishije. Muri izo twavuye:

- Umutima w'ubwirasi no kwishyira hejuru w'abatutsi bakibwira ko bahawe ububasha buturuka ku mana bwo guhora bategeka u Rwanda bityo bakabona ko bidasanzwe ko Umuhutu nawe yategeka;
- Revolisiyo yo mu wa 1959 ntabwo yarangiye ku buryo wavuye ko ubutegetsi bwabaye koko ubwa rubanda nyamwinshi mase ngo gihake na cyami nabyo ntibizongere kubyutse umutwe ukundi.
- Politiki yo kwemerera impunzi gutahuka yatangiye na Perezida KAYIBANDA ntacyo yagezeho kubera inyenzi z'abatutsi zanyanze nta mpamvu.
- Politiki y'ubumwe bw'igihugu yaranze ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya kabiri ntiyageze ku ntego yayo. Nyamara ni icyo politiki yakungahaye abatutsi bashoboye kwiharira 80 % by'ubukungu bw'igihugu mu bucuruzi kandi ubwo bwoko butarenze icumi ku ijana by'abaturage bose;
- Ubugambanyi bw'abatutsi bari ku ibere muri Repubulika ya kabiri kwirara no kurangira by'abategetsi.

Kuzitira demokarasi ibamye byatumye abayobozi bamwe batagerekeha igitugu n'iterabwoba ku baturage muri rusange no ku

bahutu by'umwihariko.

Izo mpamvu zose C.D.R. yo yazisimbaye ubumwe bwa rubanda nyamwinshi, kubana mu mahoro kw'amoko uko ari atatu no gushimangira demokarasi yuzuye.

Mu Rwanda nta muntu wari ukwiye kuba agishakisha ubutegetsi ku ngufu n'amayeri. Buri butegetsi bugomba guturuka ku matora, atarangwa n'igitugu kandi adafite mase ibyo yerekanye bikemerwa na bese. C.D.R. yo ibona ko iyi ntambara izarangizwa n'ubumwe bwa rubanda nyamwinshi, kurwanya ingambanyi n'ibindi byitso by'umwanzu no gushyira mu bikorwa amahame ya demokarasi itajegajega. Ni ukuvuga rero ko C.D.R. itizeye imishyikirano n'abantu bishakira gusa ubutegetsi bakoresheje ingufu n'ubwicanyi kandi baterwa inkunga n'igihugu gifite umuperezida udahisha ko afite irari ryo kwigururira ubutegetsi bw'ibihugu byo mu karere turimo kose.

### RUKOKOMA IGOMBA KUBA ARI UKO INTAMBARA YARANGIYE BURUNDU

Ku nama y'igihugu ifata ibyemezo bihita bushyirwa mu bikorwa (RUKOKOMA), CDR nta kibibona cyo kwigira hamwe niba icyo nama ikwiye kubaho koko. Gusa niba hemeranyijwe ko ikoreshewa, C.D.R. yifuzaga ko yaba nyuma y'iyi ntambara. Kuko itangiye imurimo yayo tukirwana rubanda nyamwinshi rwahagwa. Byamaze kandi kugaragara ko igikorwa cyamubereye cya RUKOKOMA yahawe ubushobozi bwose ari ugushyira inzego zose z'ubutegetsi bwariho tutibagiye n'urwa gisirikari. Hagakurikira kandi nta gushyirwa icyemezo cyose cyaba giturutse no mu mizi yo hasi y'ubutegetsi. Ubwo se watsinda ute intambara umaze kuzambagura inzego zirebana n'ibiyayo, uburizamo n'ibyemezo byerekeye? Kereka ushaka nyine gutsindwa, nabo ubundi nta muntu ukunda igihugu, ntawe ushyigikiye mu by'ukuri demokarasi watekereza gukoresha icyo nama mu ntambara.

Ababomborana ngo barayishakira mbere y'uko intambara irangira nta bandi batari abagambanyi cyangwa ibyitso by'umwanzu. Inama y'igihugu kandi ni uburyo bworoheye abaturage ari nabo ba mbere bayisaba - kugera ku butegetsi nta matora kuko bazi neza ko amatora aje batakoramwo nk'uko batanzwe intambara bacungiragaho bashakira ubutegetsi bwose.

Nyamara gushyiraho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi byo byatuma inzego zifatanyaga mu kurwanya umwanzu zirushaho kugira ingufu. C.D.R. kandi ibona ari nta shyamba mu yemewe ryahita rihezwa muri Leta y'inzibacyuho. icyakora nyine C.D.R. ntiyemera ko amashyaka afatanyije n'umwanzu ku buryo ubwaribwo bwose yinjizwa muri Guverinoma mu gihe cyose intambara izaba ikirikoroza.

Bayoboke ba C.D.R., Nabanyuriye muri make uko ishyamba C.D.R. riteye. Nababwiyemo mu magambo avunaguye uko amahame zashyirwa ya politiki yacu. Ni kuri urwo rwafatiro twubakira kandi dukomeza inzego zacu z'ubutegetsi bushingiye kuri demokarasi, na Repubulika aho umuhutu, umututsi n'umutwa buri wese azatanga umuganda we mu mahoro n'ubwo aya moko yose azahora atandukanye.

Nabagejejeho sinwe mu ntego n'imwe mu migambi twifuzaga kugeraho no gushyira mu bikorwa. Turateganyaga kuzabababwirira byose ku buryo burambuye mu mibonano no muri za miringi bitaha. Murumuna gusa ko C.D.R. ari ishyamba ry'amahoro, riharanura ritizigamye ubumwe bwa rubanda nyamwinshi mu kurengera inyungu zarwo biyuzuye mu nzira ya demokarasi nsa.

Nimwime rero amatwi uturimi twuzuye uburyarya, ubugome n'ibinyoma tw'abashakira kudusezerera muze ahubwo kwiyumvira abavugizi bemewe ba C.D.R. muri za miringi ari umbere, muzahamenyera ukuri kose ku ishyamba ryacu kandi ryanyu no ku mateka ya kera y'umunyarwanda.

IMPUZAMUGAMBI TURI MASO!



# UBUTEGETSI BWA HABYARIMANA BURAKABYA MU GUFATA IBYEMEZO BUTINZE

Hanze aha abantu bashimira Perezida Habyarimana ko adahubuka mu gufata ibyemezo ku bibazo bireba igihugu cyose. Ariko ubwo bwitonze bukemangwaho byinshi kubera ko bukunze kugira ingaruka zitari nziza ku mitegekere y'igihugu, ku micungire y'ibya rubanda no ku mutekano w'A-banyarwanda.

Nk'umugabo Rizinde yishe agasozu biratinda, biravugwa hirya no hino birasubirwa, birandikwa mu binyamakuru byo mu mahanga karahava ariko uwo mu maneko mukuru akomeza gufungira inzirakarengane ubusa, arica, aresahura. Yaje gushoborwa nuko yashatse kurengera ngo afate ubutegetsi bwo hejuru. Ubwo se ni ukuvuye ko ibikorwa bye byihishiraga ku buryo abamutegekaga bamwihore-raga bitewe no kutabimenya?

Umutungo w'igihugu wakomeje gusesagurwa rubanda n'amahanga babinenga. Ngizo za reception za buri kanya kandi atari ngombwa, ngizo za commande z'ibintu igihugu kidakeneye cyane, nguko gupfusha ubusa uduka Leta yacungiragaho mu magaraji, mu bacuruzi n'ahandi n'ahandi. None dore bibutse kwizirika umukanda ibigega byamaze gukoropwa n'abashinzwe kubirinda.

Umutegetsi aranyereza umutungo, akarya ruswa, akazambya akazi n'abo ashinzwe kuyobora imyaka igashira indi igataha. Ibi nyamakuru cyangwa abantu bo hanze bamutunga agatoki ngo ni ugusebanya, ngo ni ibihuha. Hanyuma bakazibuka kumwigizayo ntacyo bakiramiye. Ndetse byarimba bakamwegurira indi mbehe ya karahabutaka kugirango akomeze kuzongera igihugu n'abagituye.

Iyi ntambara yayogoye igihugu ntiyagombaga kugira uwo itungura cyane cyane nk'abari bashinzwe iperereza n'abakuru b'inzege za

gisirikare n'iz'ubutegetsi kuko ibimenyetso byayo byigaragazaga ku karubanda. Kangura igitangira yarabiranzwe maze aho kubizirikana abashinzwe umutekano bata Ngeze muri yombi ngo we arashaka kuzana amacakubiri mu moko; nyamara baje kumva ariko bitinze! Abatutsi ntibari bagikoreshe amarenga, Museveni yivugiraga ubwe ko inyenzi zishaka kudutera uretse nyine ko kubera uburyarya bw'abahima-tutsi atahishaga ko azazibifashamo. Simvuze ko hari uwari kubuza icyo ntambara kuba, ariko burya guterwa witeguye si kimwe no gutungurwa. Isasu ryomonganiye i Kagitumba rivuye muri Uganda abategetsi bacu batinye kuvuye ko twatwe n'icyo gihugu ngo hatwari badakanga rutenderi kandi ubwo ari nta rindi garuriro.

Hari n'ibindi bihugu (cyangwa ikindi gihugu) byadukoraga mu jisho maze aho kubiyirama cyangwa kubifatira ibyemezo bikwiye kandi bikaze ahubwo hagafungwa umunyarwanda wamaganye ubwo bushotoranyije. Ibintu rero byaba bigeze iwandabaga ngo yebaba twarebaga he? Ugasanga akenshi u Rwanda rurivuguruzwa mu magambo no mu bikorwa kandi ubwo rwaragombaga kumenya uko rwifata rugikubita.

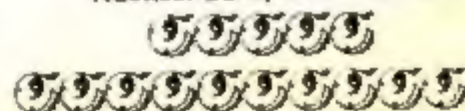
Ziriya mvururu zo mu Bugesera ntawe zagombaga nazo gutungurwa naho yaba umwana utaracuka. None se umuturage w'umuhutu wiboneraga ubwe urubirako rw'abatutsi baturanye rujya mu nkotanyi kurasa ingabo zacu no kujujubya abatwariye imipaka y'ahabera imirwano koko yari kugira ikihe cyizere muri abo batutsi? Ubwo se bari kumara gufata igihugu no kwica abahutu b'ahandi maze abo mu Bugesera akaba aribo bagirirwa impuhwe? Leta yo rwose yarituramiye kandi ibyo bintu ibizi kuko byavugwaga no kuri radiyo yayo. Yagombye kuba yarafatiye ako karere ibyemezo bi-

kwiye bikiri mu maguru mashya, ikabuza abatutsi baho gukotana, ikabumbatira umutekano w'abaturuye bese hakiri kare aho gushishikazwa ubu no kurengera abo batutsi gusa kandi ari nabo ba nyirabayazana.

Nk'ubu ntaho abatutsi badukinze mu migambi yabo yo kwongera kugira umuhutu ingaruzwamuheto no kumumirira ku icumu. Ibyo Leta ishobora kuba noneho yarabimenye ariko ntacyo ikora kigara kugira ngo ubwo bwoko busubize amurwe mu isaho ubudasubirwaho; ahubwo ikomeje gutsimbarara kuri ya ngirwabumwe abatutsi badashaka. Wenda izaca akenshi noneho abo banzi ba rubanda nyamwinshi batakirindagira mu Mutara ahubwo baramaze kwugariza umurwe mukuru ndetse bawufashe byarangiye maze ak'irimo sega kakaba karashobotse.

Ubu hagezweho politiki y'amashyamba menshi ariko hari abambari bakibwirako bigishoboka guteguka nko mu gihe cya pariti imwe rukumbi. Hashize amezi n'amezi hatagerejwe guverinoma ihuriweho n'abafite ibitekerezo binyuranye none amaso yaheze mu kirere. Birumvikana icyakora ko hari amashyamba amwe n'amwe ya kido byashakaye nayo gushyiraho amashyamba ariko uwo rubanda rureba mbere na mbere ni ubutegetsi buriho. Ntabwo rero bwagombye gutegereza ko ibintu bidogera kugira ngo bwumvikane n'abo bugomba kumvikana. Ibyaribye byose hazaba amashyamba maze impaka zirangire; ariko hagati aho igihugu kirasaba kuyoborwa n'ubutegetsi bufite ingufu zihagije zo guhangana n'ibibazo by'ingutu bitwugaririje; intambara, ubukungu, umutekano n'imibereho y'abaturage muri rusange.

Ndekezi Bonaparte — Gisuma





# DORE ABAGOME 17 BIYEMEJE GUTWIKWA KAMINUZA Y'U RWANDA, IKIGO CYA RUHENGARI.

Umunyarwanda wese ukunda u Rwanda agomba kurutera inkunga muri iki gihe rugeze ahari-ndimuka. Maze gutahura ibibera muri Kamunza i Nyakinama niyemeje gutabaza abategetsi b'u Rwanda, Abihaye Imana (...) nimuhagurukire rimwe mwamagane ziriya nyangabirama sishaka gutwika Kamunza.

Mu minsi ishize, agatsiko k'abatutsi gafatanije n'uduhutu duke tw'injajwa kazuze ibihuha kabikwirakwiza mu Kigo ngo Abakiga (Ruhengeri, Gisenyi na Byumba) ngo baratema abatutsi n'abanyenduga (Gitarama, Butare, Gikongoro). Umugambi wabo wamenyekaneye abahungu bageze iwabo. Bukeye hashyirwaho Komisiyo yo guasengura ibyo bihuha. Iyo Komisiyo yagaragaje abakwiye ibihuha bayobowe na NTEZIRYAYO Vincent w'i Gitarama ubeshya bgo ni umuhutu kandi wo muri MDR nyamara ni umututsi ndetse ni P.L. nsa nsa. Abo bagome ntibahanwe kubera bwa bwoba busanzwe buranga abayobozi ba MRND biyubaha nka Rwagasana Anatole uyobora icyo kigo. Yabashyize icyo bita «blame» (kwihanagirizwa) uretse ko nayo yavuye kure, kuko byabaye ari uko abanyeshuri batari bako bamwandikiye bamubwira ko batemeye izo mpuhwe ze.

Abakwirakwije ibihuha nk'uko Komisiyo ibyerekanaga (wabashyira mu matsinda 3):

A. Ingirwa muhutu wahinduye ubwoko.

I. NTEZIRYAYO Vincent : avugako ari muri MDR ariko ni P.L. kuva ku mano kugera ku musatsi.

B. Abatutsi bo muri P.L. kandi b'indobanure ndetse bakomeye cyane ku ngoma ya cyami

2. GICARI, M. Josée : P.L. nsa nsa
3. NIKUZE Triphonie : P.L.
4. NIYIGIRIMBABAZI Augusta : P.L.
5. SINDAYIGAYA : P.L.
6. Injajwa y'umuhutu itazi ibyo ikora, yitwaza ko se ari S/Préfet bigatuma yirirwa mu batutsi no mu batutsikazi
7. DUKUZEMUREMYI Adrien : MDR (Ni umwana, akwiriye kubabarirwa).

Kuri ako gatsiko kagaragajwe na Komisiyo yari ibishinzwe biyongereyeho ingirwa paramehutu 5 zivuka i Gitarama. Mu by'ukuri abobasore niba bayoboye ririya hunga ryose akaba aribo biteguye kuyobora imigambi yose mibi ya MDR Parmehutu iteganyaga gukora muri Nyakinama.

8. HABARUREMA Emmanuel (ni umututsi wahinduye)
9. MUKESHIMANA Joseph (Imico ye ni iy'abatutsi kubera nyina w'umututsikazi)
10. KALISA Narcisse (Imico ye ni iy'abatutsi kubera nyina w'umututsikazi)
11. KANANI Callixte (Umuhutu urangwa no guhubuka no guhuzagurika cyane)
12. UFITEYEZU Joseph (Umuhutu w'indiyarya cyane bavugako ngo ari Perezida wa MDR mu banyeshuri ba Kamunza, ikigo cya Nyakinama.

Twongereho na Perezida wa AGEUNR, rya shyirahamwe ry'abanyeshuri, ariwe:

13. MUNYANZIZA P.C. : avugako mu Bugesera kandi yahinduye ubwoko. Ibyo biragaragara kuko nta n'ukuntu yasobanura igituma akurikiranaga inyungu z'abatutsi gusa.

Kuri abo bagome hariyongereho abatutsi bane bahora bahakanywe, badasiba kwishimira yuko muri kamunza harangwa umwuka mubi:

14. MUDADARI Joseph. Umugome birengeje urugero, arengera

MDR kandi ni P.L. ku mubiri, ku mutima akaba ari FPR)

15. KAMANZI Canisius : P.L., inzoka mbi cyane.

16. KAMURASE Martin : arazwi mu Rwanda hose kuba yarafashwe mu byitso akaza kurekurwa n'ubwoba bwa MRND

17. MUSEKURA Jonathan (umusaza w'ubwanwa bukora ku mavi wihutuye; ni PL).

Abo bagome bifashisha undi mupermetutsi witwa:

18. MUSANGAMFURA Sixbert ukoresha ikinyamakuru cye Isiho agatuma abahutu bese aho bava bakagera. Abo bagome bifashisha icyo kinyamakuru bagahimba ibinyoma bitagira ishingiro bagashaka guteranya abarimu n'abanyeshuri ndetse bagasheya n'abategetsi.

Mbaze UFITEYEZU, KANANI na DUKUZEMUREMYI : mwa bahutu mwe, muremeye muguye mu mutego w'abatutsi? Perezida wa Ruhengeri ahuriye he n'ariya marorerwa ya Nteziryayo na GICALI ? Buriya mujya gutangaza iriya nyandiko yanyu mu Isiho n° 45 mwari mugamije iki ? Ese kuki mukorera mu bwishimo ? Sha UFITEYE, abanyagitarama muranze mubaye abanyamatiku ! Biratangajwe kubona abanyeshuri batemeye amafuti ya Rwagasana bamwandikira ku mugaragaro namwe bakabaha «copie», mwebwe muki-hutira guharabika Perezida wa Ruhengeri, Murego... mu nyandiko yuzuye ibinyoma mwitirirye umuzimu wo muri Cyabingo ngo witwa Bazimaziki.

Banyarwanda, mwihoneye irisiti y'abanyeshuri 17 n'umunyamakuru Musangamfura batumwe na MUGENZI J. Perezida wa P.L. Ishami rya FPR ngo batwike Kamunza yanyu. Nimuhaguruke mufatire bariya bagome ibihano bikwiye.

HABYARIMANA Ildephonse.



# AMASHYAKA NAREKERAHO GUSONGA ABASAMBI- RA MU TURERE TUBERAMO INTAMBARA.

Abantu benshi bavuze ku mikorere y'amashyaka muri iki gihe cy'intambara, ku myifatire y'ubutegetsi, ku bayobozi bamwe b'amashyaka atavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bashakira gusa inyungu zabo bwite mbere yo gushyamba muri rusange ukuntu rubanda nyamwinshi yakumvikana, maze igashyamba imbaraga hamwe kugira ngo ishobore gutsinda iyi ntambara. Abantu bamwe bageze aho babona imvugo n'imikorere ya bamwe muri abo bayobozi ifasha inyenzi-inkotanyi. Ndashyamba nanjye kugira ibyo ngeza ku banyarwanda cyane cyane abayobozi b'amashyaka n'abayoboke babo akenshi bizeza ibitangaza bakababwirako muri ya politiki ya humiriza nkuyobore unkurikire twazereye muri 1959 kandi n'ubu twamagana, icyo umuntu ashishoje asanga abayobozi bamwe b'amashyaka basaba abayoboke babo kubacira imbuto ziri rwagati mu ruzi runini kandi rufite umuvumba ngo bazibazanyire bazirye, hbo basigaye biraramura cyangwa bagwe muri urwo ruzi.

Muri iyi ntambara byari ngo mbwaga ko amashyaka avuka mu rwego rwo guhangana n'inkotanyi, buri munyarwanda agatanga igitekerezo cyo kubaka igihugu mu ishyamba yihitanyemo, abayobozi b'amashyaka nabo bakabihuriza hamwe bashakira icyafasha igihugu gutsinda intambara mu rwego rwa politiki. Ikibabaje ni uko abayobozi b'amashyaka biruka gusa inyuma y'ubutegetsi amashyamba bakirengagiza ko ari abaturage babatanga. Bamwe muri bo kandi babwirukaho nabi kuko bakururira imvururu mu banyarwanda, babatanyanga babacamo uduce dushingiye ku turere. Ubonye ngo muri iyi ntambara bamwe mu bayobozi b'amashyaka bavuye ngo reka abakiga babafatanye n'iyi ntambara iturutse iwabo barebe uko bababura ubutegetsi. —Barirushya ubutegetsi si ubw'abakiga ni ubw'abanyarwanda bese kandi babura

uwo bashakira ushobora kubagira akamaro—. Ibyo byatumye abo bayobozi b'amashyaka badafasha ubutegetsi kwiga ukuntu intambara yarangira binyuze mu mishyikirano, ahubwo bashakira ukuntu inkotanyi zabafasha guhirika ubutegetsi zikoresheje imbunda. Baribeshya kuko icyo ufatanije na shitani iguhindura icyaha. Bamwe ngo bafite imiti y'intambara ngo bazayitanga babonye ubutegetsi. Niba bifuzaga kuzawutanga abo bita abakiga bashize, baribeshya kuko ntabwo bashakira gushyamba, ikindi kandi intambara izagira ingaruka ku gihugu cyose. Abakomoka aho bifuzaga gutikira nibarokoka, bazafatanye n'abandi banyarwanda kubaka igihugu no gushimangira demokarasi muri Repubulika.

Njye natekerezaga ko umuntu wese ushyingira ishyamba cyangwa wifuzaga kuyobora ishyamba rya rubanda nyamwinshi ashakira gushimangira demokarasi idahera akarere ako ariko kose, akorera igihugu cyose nta kwita ku kazu ke n'ubwoko mushiki we yashatsemo. Biteye agahinda kubona ababeshya abaturage ko bashakira kubakorerwa birirwa bakira kumubwimbira abasirikari n'abatuye mu turere tubaramo intambara. Abasirikari n'abandi bo bazi ingaruka z'iyi ntambara kurusha abandi, bakwiye gufatira ibyemezo abayobozi b'amashyaka bameze nka Twagiramungu Faustin na Mugenzi Justin batanga inkunga inkotanyi mu magambo no mu bikorwa. Imishyikirano itaziguye igomba gukomeza hagati y'amashyaka n'ubutegetsi. Abayoboke b'amashyaka atavugaga rumwe na M.R.N.D bagomba gushyamba abandi bantu bo kubahagararira muri icyo mishyikirano kuko bimaze kugaragara ko abo bohereza bajyana inzangano zabo bwite bafatanye n'Umukuru w'igihugu bigatuma batajya impaka za politiki zubakira ahubwo bajya impaka za ngo turwane. Iyo babonye ari nta kundi byagenda badashobora kwemeza ibitekerezo byabo Pre-

zida wa Repubulika, bahita basohotse bakihutira kuroha abana mu mihanda ngo batobore imipira y'imokoka za Leta n'iz'abaturage. Ni nde uhagwa? Ni umuturage n'umushyamba.

Mu myigaragambyo, abana nibo bahangana n'abashinzwe umutekano bakabashyiramo bya byuka bihuma amaso. Abayobozi b'amashyaka bo kubera gutinye ibyo byuka bigira mu biro byabo bagacungira ko ba banyabwira aho babategetse maze bakaza kuharogera urwo rubyiruko barukwizamo ibinyoma bitagira ishingiro. Ubonye ngo barabeshya abanyarwanda ngo Prezida yanze kubonana nabo kandi Prezida ariwe wabatumyeho bakanga nk'uko Ngango Felisiani wa P.S.D yabivuze kuri Radiyo—Rwanda! Yavuze uko byagenze abasore benshi biyemeza kutazabwira mu myigaragambyo y'amafuti ikururwa n'inzangano z'abantu ku giti cyabo. Abaturage nabo cyane cyane abatuye mu turere tubaramo intambara, babababaye cyane kuko bari bafite icyizere muri icyo mishyikirano bari bategereye umuti w'intambara imaze kubazahaza. Abaturage nibafata abo bahora bababeshya ngo bafite umuti w'iyi ntambara nk'abagambanyi cyangwa abarokotse bazaba babeshye se? Ese abaturage batuye mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda si abanyarwanda nk'abandi? Ngo nako ni abakiga ngo kandi nta batutsi benshi babarimo ngo byongeye kandi bese bazatanga M.R.N.D. Rwose Twagiramungu Faustin na Mugenzi nibongere basubire mu masomo yabo y'ubumenyi bw'isi bamenye ko u Rwanda rugizwe n'amaperefagitura 11.

Umva rero Twagiramungu, politiki yo gutinye abanyarwanda no gukururira inzangano zawe bwite muli politiki y'igihugu ntaho izagaza M.D.R ahubwo urayisanyee pee! Uramenye ko M.D.R ari ishyamba rya rubanda nyamwinshi bo mu turere twose tw'u Rwanda



kandi bashyize hamwe, N'uyisenya uzayiryoze, Abo witaga abanyenda maze umaze nabo kubacamo uduce wirukana P.S.D mu ishyirahamwe mpuzamashyaka washyizeho kugirango rifashe P.L kurangiza ubutumwa bwayo yahawe na F.P.R uyizira ko Sobukwe Kayibanda na sebukwe wa Gatabazi Felisiyani bagiranye ibibazo, Urumva uzafatwa ha ?

Waramaze wowe wayirukanye, ahubwo P.S.D yari yaratinze kuvamo kuko Gatabazi adashobora kuroha ishyaka rye mu bukotanyi nkawe. Nshimye ko wanga abahutu bo mu Murera, mu Bushiru no mu Rukiga, abahutu bo mu Bunyambiriri no mu Bufundu murapfa iki ? Urabaziza ko ari abahutu gusa ? Urabona icyo politiki yawe izaba

marira iki u Rwanda ? Niba unanirwe impuyabo yawe, uzashobora guteguka igihugu wifuza ? Ese ko, uhora uririmba Rukokoma, P.S.D yagusaba rukokoma mu Mpuyabo yawe ukanga ? Uranga se ko abayoboke ba M.D.R bamenya amakosa yawe ? Uzuminwa igihe M.D.R yose izamenya ubugambanyi bwaye maze ikagusimbura Gapyisi Emmanuel, Murego Donat, Nsengiyaremye Dismas cyangwa Ngurinzira Boniface ikakuvana ku mwanya wihaye ku ngufu ugira ngo ukorere F.P.R.

Abayobozi b'andi mashyaka nibashyire mu gaciro nka Gatabazi Felisiyani, bashyire hamwe barengere abatwaga bamaze kuza hazwa n'iyi ntambara, nibwo abanyarwanda twese tuzabemera maze

tukabahungabazaho amajwi mu matwara. M.R.N.D nayo igomba kumenya ko igihugu ari icyacu twese maze abayoboke bayo bagashyira hamwe n'abandi banyarwanda bari mu yandi mashyaka bazwiho gukunda rubanda n'igihugu, bakiga ukuntu hajyaho guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka menshi, yo guhangana n'inyangarwanda za F.P.R zidutera zivuye i Buganda bakitorera ababayobora, naho ubundi ntawora cyangwa ngo ajye muri za rukokoma amasasu amuri ku mutwe. Abayobozi b'amashyaka niberekane ko bakunda igihugu cyose n'abagituye bose, bibuka kandi ko inyangarwanda zateye abanyarwanda bose ko zitateye mu karere kamwe gusa.

HATEGEKIMANA Jean Baptiste.

## BANYAMASHYAKA MUREKE GUTERANYA INGABO Z'U RWANDA

Nshatse gutanga ibitekerezo maranye igihe, ariko nsembuwe n'amagambo TWAGIRAYEZU Laurenti yavugiyeho i Butare muri miringi ya M.D.R. tariki ya 16 Gashyantare 1992 aho yagiraga ati : «Tumaze kumenya ko 80% by'ingabo zacu zimaze kumva ko gukorera umuntu umwe cyangwa ishyaka rimwe bitagikwiye, amashyaka menshi ni ngombwa». Arongerera ati : «Ubugizi bwa nabi bukunze kuboneka cyane cyane mu mugwi wa Kigali, harimo na za grenades, twasanze abajandarume aribo byitso kubera ko birirwa bazenguruka barunguruka mu ngo z'abantu !».

Ntibibatangaze cyane kuba ngiye kwibanda ku ba G.D.; iya kurisha ihesha ku rugo. Birazwi cyane ko abantu bahorana cyangwa se babana, bapfa utuntu twinshi. Aha nshatse kuvuga aba G.D. n'abasivili. TWAGIRAYEZU ureruye ushaka kumvisha abanyarwanda bose ko Gendarmerie yose izenguruka mu baturage ibungabunga umutekano ariyo ahubwo yawujambije. Wari hafi no gusaba ko Gendarmerie yavaho maze mukikorera ibyo mu-shaka.

Gusa twibukiranye ko Gendarmerie n'abasivili ku mpande zombi atari shyashya.

Hari aba G.D. bakora amakosa nkanakandi iyo bamenyekanye byanze bikunze barabihanirwa.

TWAGIRAYEZU rero ntabwo burya buryo wakoresheje wandagaza Gendarmerie yose, utanavanguye kandi imbere y'umwanzi, ari bwo bwiza. Dore ahubwo uko wari kubigenze :

Niba ubonye ikosa, binyuze mu butegetsi bwo hejuru, bizamanuka bigere kuri nyiri ikosa, ahanwe yikoreshe bityo umutekano utahwe iwacu. Ntawakwiyibagiza kandi ko iyo umu G.D. cyangwa umusirikari akora amarorerwa nk'ayo aba yarabivukanye kuko akomoka mu baturage kimwe nawe. Byongeye kandi aba G.D. bakora akazi kabegereza amakosa menshi. Mu ngabo zacu rero habonekamo babi baka kandi bakabihanirwa. Abaturage namwe kenshi mufatwa mu makosa kandi mukabihanirwa. Kuvuga ko aba G.D. ari bo bagizi ba nabi waribeshye cyane, gusa wibuke ko kuvuga icyo ushatse atari ukuvuga uko wishakiye.

ABASIRIKARI N'ABA G.D. BOSE NI INGABO Z'U RWANDA.

Hategwa imitego myinshi cyane igamije guteranya ingabo z'u Rwanda ariko yose igashibukana

ba nyirayo. Byageze muri iyi ntambara ho birakabya. Na we se umuntu arateruye ati : «Ubwo abasirikari bari ku rugamba, aba G.D. baratubaza uburyo mu mugwi !»

Ese uwaguterura akagutereka imbere y'aba G.D. bari hirya no hino mu mashyamba, mu bihuru no mu migano wavugaga ko baba bakora ubusa ? Si ubusugire bw'u Rwanda baba barwanaho ?

Abaturage bari bakwiye kwikuramo ibyabereye mu Ruhengeri igihe ibyitso byibeshyaga bikageza inkotanyi mu mugwi wa Ruhengeri ari nabwo havutse intero ngo : «Aba G.D. ni ba Mukamurenzi». Ngo kuko birutse ! Ntimukivange mu bya gisirikari birakomeye kubisobanukirwa. Ese mwaba muri abantu 50, mukarwana n'abantu 500 munganya ingufu umwe umwe byagenda bite ? Mwari muzi ko iyo abari basigaye (dore ko bamwe muri bo bahaguye) batiruka bashoboraga kuhagwa, inkotanyi zigakora ibindi zitashoboye gukora kuko byari kumenyekana bitinze kurushaho. Wowe rero ushaka guteranya ingabo z'u Rwanda bizakuzindure uje kubateranya ku rugamba. Amakosa ubona ku ba G.D. bamwe yanyuze mu nzira nakurangiye haruguru, bitwo uzaba utanze umugabo